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Former Ramparts Publisher Has New Radical Idea

Special to The New York Times

MENLO PARK, Calif., Dec. 2

Edward M. Keating, whose *Ramparts* magazine was in the vanguard of the early antiwar movement, is working on a comeback as a radical thinker.

Ramparts in the mid-sixties is credited or blamed for the radicalization of many young people with articles about Central Intelligence Agency funding of the National Student Association, Green Beret torture techniques, Senator Frank Church's early opposition to the Vietnam war and others.

By his own account, Mr. Keating poured \$860,000 into *Ramparts*, which grew in circulation from a few thousand to 238,000 at the time of his ouster in April, 1967.

"They kidnapped my baby," said Mr. Keating, who is still bitter over his ouster. The magazine later went into bankruptcy, but is now being published under different ownership.

Nearly insolvent now, and forgotten by those who once hung on his every spoken and printed word, the former publisher is writing a book on the nature of man. It will put forth "the most radical thesis in the history of mankind," said Mr. Keating, who was trained as a lawyer and real estate developer rather than a publisher or anthropologist.

Man, Mr. Keating believes, is an instinctively arboreal; or tree-dwelling, creature whose ancestors were forced by the drying-up of forests billions of years ago to switch to a terrestrial, or land-dwelling, mode.

It is the conflict between man's arboreal instincts and the hostile environment of the land that accounts for war, racism, pollution and many



The New York Times

Edward M. Keating

other of man's woes, Mr. Keating argues.

Land dwelling, Mr. Keating contends, has forced man to become a hunter engaged in a lonely pursuit that causes anxiety about time as he seeks meat to eat before he starves or attempts to earn enough money to meet the monthly mortgage payment on his mansion.

Furthermore, Mr. Keating says, man is subconsciously seeking to return to his former paradisiacal state by creating neo-arborea in which the physical attributes of contemporary life, such as high-rise buildings, television and plastic credit cards, would still exist, but in which man would somehow conquer the time anxiety imposed by the hunt.

Mr. Keating said he developed his thesis after pondering recent political events in this country, but the outline also

seems to follow the pattern of Mr. Keating's own life over the last decade.

In 1962, Mr. Keating was a wealthy man living in heavily wooded Atherton, Calif. That year he began *Ramparts* as a five-times-a-year journal of intellectual Roman Catholic thought and dissent. It became a monthly in 1964.

As a publisher, Mr. Keating was forced to meet production deadlines and to hunt for more and more funds to prop up the money-losing publication. After his ouster as publisher in 1967, he faded into obscurity.

Today, at the age of 47 years, he is a self-styled scholar who sets his own work schedule and spends much of his time in a bedroom that he uses as a study in his modest, yellow wood-frame home.

Asked about the Keating thesis, two anthropologists, Dr. Sherwood Washburn of the University of California at Berkeley and Dr. David Pilbeam of Yale University, said they did not believe it was scientifically sound.

"It sounds to me like nonsense," Dr. Pilbeam stated. "But it isn't provable nonsense because we don't have time machines to take us back."

He added that "a lot of things that seem instinctive to us are culturally learned."

"Man has been on the ground for a long time and the development of the large brain has come since he was on the ground," Dr. Washburn said. He said this would probably rule out the influence today of instincts in man's ancestors of millions of years ago, a point that is central to Mr. Keating's thesis.

Prof. Eldon D. Earnhardt, a friend of Mr. Keating's who

teaches anthropology at Cazada Junior College in Redwood City, Calif., said he thought the 30-page thesis warranted further inquiry.

"I don't know how credible Ed's thesis is," Mr. Earnhardt stated. But, he added, "if you look at his data and you are a layman he is going to have credibility."

Talk of Mr. Keating's thesis keeps party guests enraptured for hours. The thesis is "like eating peanuts—one question always leads to another," Mr. Keating said.

"The most universal myth of all is of the paradisaical past when man was at one with nature, where he did not have to work for a living, where there was total sexual freedom and where there was no awareness of death," Mr. Keating said.

"The next most universal factor is nostalgia or homesickness. We all want to go back to that existence. There would be no desire to go back to something that has no basis in fact," he added.

When man's arboreal ancestors lived in accord with their instincts in the trees, they ate berries and fruit and let the remnants and excretia drop to the ground. Therein, Mr. Keating said, is the explanation of "why man can't stop pollution. He has no instinct against soiling the nest. For two million years he has been trying unsuccessfully to develop the habit of tidiness."

Once Mr. Keating's study on arboreals led him into a tree to see what life there was like. He said it restored his sense of "appropriateness and belonging." It also bored him. What he believes is man's learned obsession with time, he said,

incomplete

Dec 1972

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THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY: TIME FOR REVIEW?

The intelligence community, and its budget, pose many problems of traditional concern to the Federation of American Scientists: governmental reform, morality, proper use of high technology, and defense expenditures. In the last quarter century, intelligence agencies have proliferated. The United States has established an agency which goes beyond intelligence collection and, periodically, interferes in the internal affairs of other nations. Technology suited to the invasion of national and personal privacy has been developed apace. And the \$4 to \$6 billion being spent for intelligence might well be termed the largest "unreviewed" part of the defense budget.

Twenty-five years after the passage of the National Security Act of 1947, it seems a good time to consider the problems posed by these developments.

Of least concern in terms of its budget but of over-riding significance in its international political impact, is the Directorate of Plans of CIA, within which clandestine political operations are mounted. This is the issue discussed in this newsletter. More and more, informed observers question whether clandestine political operations ought to be continued on a "business-as-usual" basis. In the absence of an investigation, a secret bureaucracy—which started in the Office of Strategic Services during a hot war and which grew in the CIA during a cold war—may simply continue to practice a questionable trade.

Clandestine "dirty tricks" have their costs not only abroad but at home, where they are encouraged only too easily. And is not interference in the affairs of other nations wrong?

Two decades ago, as the cold war gained momentum, one of America's greatest political scientists, Harold D. Lasswell, wrote a comprehensive and prophetic book, "National Security and Individual Freedom." He warned of the "insidious menace" that a continuing crisis might "undermine and eventually destroy free institutions." We would see, he predicted: pressure for defense expenditures, expansion and centralization of Government, withholding of information, general suspicion, an undermining of press and public opinion, a weakening of political parties, a decline of the Congress, and of the courts.

Today, with the Cold War waning, it seems in order to reexamine our institutions, goals and standards. Which responses to the emergency of yesterday can we justify today? □

The National Security Act of 1947 created the Central Intelligence Agency and gave it overall responsibility for coordinating the intelligence activities of the several relevant government departments and agencies interested in such matters. Today, a quarter century later, CIA is reported to have a budget of about \$700-million to \$1-billion and a staff of perhaps 18,000 people, or about 8,000 more than the Department of State! (This advantage in size gives CIA an edge in interdepartmental meetings for which, for example, others may be too rushed to fully prepare or not be able to assign a suitable person.)

The National Security Act authorized CIA to:

"perform for the benefit of the existing intelligence agencies such additional services of common concern as the National Security Council determines can be more effectively accomplished centrally; "perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct."

(italics added)

These clauses clearly authorize clandestine intelligence collection but they are also used to justify clandestine political operations. However, overthrowing governments, secret wars, assassination, and fixing elections are certainly not done "for the benefit of the existing intelligence agencies" nor are they duties "related to intelligence." Someday a court may rule that political activities are not authorized.

In any case, at the urging of Allen Dulles, the National Security Council issued a secret directive (NSC 10/2) in 1948, authorizing such special operations of all kinds—provided they were secret and small enough to be possibly deniable by the Government.

Even this authority has been exceeded since several impossible-to-denry operations have been undertaken: the U-2 flight, the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Iranian Coup, the Laotian War, and so on.

The National Security Act gave the CIA no "police subpoena, law enforcement powers, or internal security functions . . ." But another secret Executive Branch document evidently did give the CIA authority to engage in domestic operations related to its job. It was under this authority that such organizations as foundations, educational organizations, and private voluntary groups were involved with the CIA at the time of the National Student Association revelations (1966).

The "white" part of CIA is, in a sense, a cover for the "black" side. CIA supporters and officials invariably emphasize the intelligence, rather than the manipulation function of CIA, ignoring the latter or using phrases that gloss over it quietly. The public can easily accept the desirability of knowing as much as possible. But its instincts oppose doing abroad what it would not tolerate at home. And it rightly fears that injustices committed abroad may begin to be tolerated at home: how many elections can be fixed abroad before we begin to try it here? The last election showed such a degeneration of traditional American standards.

The present Director of Central Intelligence, Richard Helms, is working hard and effectively at presenting an image of CIA that will not offend. In a recent speech, he said:

"The same objectivity which makes us useful to our government and our country leaves us uncomfortably aware of our ambiguous place in it. . . . We propose to adapt intelligence to American society, not vice versa."

Even construed narrowly, this is no easy job, and adapting clandestine political operations to American ideals may well be quite impossible.

At the time of the Bay of Pigs, President Kennedy gave serious consideration to breaking CIA into two pieces: one piece would conduct operations and the other would just collect intelligence. The dangers were only too evident

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CONFIDENTIAL

A Correspondence with Alfred W. McCoy

I

On June 1 of this year an official of the US Central Intelligence Agency paid a visit to the New York offices of my publisher, Harper and Row, Inc. This CIA official was Mr. Cord Meyer, Jr. (now the CIA's Assistant Deputy Director of Plans; formerly the CIA official in charge of providing covert financial subsidies for organizations such as the National Student Association, *Encounter Magazine*, and the Congress for Cultural Freedom).¹ Mr. Meyer urged several of his old friends among Harper and Row's senior management to provide him with a copy of the galley proofs of my history of the international narcotics traffic, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*. In this book I show the complicity of various US agencies—particularly the CIA and the State Department—in organizing the Southeast Asian drug traffic since the early 1950s.

Mr. Meyer presented one of Harper and Row's senior editors with some documents giving the CIA's view on the Southeast Asian drug traffic. His manner was grave. He said, "You wouldn't want to publish a book that would be full of inaccuracies, embarrass the United States government, or get you involved in libel suits, would you?"

Harper and Row's management promised to consider Mr. Meyer's request and summoned me from Washington, DC, where I was then testifying before the Senate Appropriations Committee on my findings after eighteen months of research into the Southeast Asian drug traffic. This research included more than 250 interviews with heroin dealers, police officials, and intelligence agents in Europe and Asia.

At a meeting in New York on the afternoon of June 8, Harper and Row's president, Mr. Winthrop Knowlton, and its senior vice president, Mr. B. Brooks Thomas, told me that they had decided to provide the CIA with a copy of the galley proofs prior to publication for the following reasons:

First, the CIA would be less likely to seek a temporary court injunction barring publication of the book if the Agency were given a chance to persuade itself that national security was in no way endangered by portions of my book; and secondly, Harper and Row felt that a responsible publisher should have enough confidence in the veracity of any of its particularly controversial books to show them to any reputable critic for comment prior to publication.

At first I disagreed strongly with Harper and Row's decision, arguing that submitting

Alfred W. McCoy

the galley proofs to the CIA could set a dangerous precedent and ultimately weaken First Amendment guarantees concerning freedom of the press. Moreover, in view of what I had learned of the CIA's operating methods in Southeast Asia I was convinced that the Agency was capable of using unethical means—such as coercing my sources into retracting statements they had made to me about US complicity in the international narcotics traffic—in order to induce Harper and Row to withdraw the book from publication.

After a week of negotiations, however, Harper and Row told me that they would not be willing to publish the book unless I agreed to submit the manuscript to the CIA. Faced with what I believed would be lengthy delays if I took the book to another publisher and the prospect of losing my Harper and Row editor, Elisabeth Jakab, with whom I had worked

closely, I capitulated. Thus began more than two months of lengthy negotiations between the CIA, Harper and Row, and myself. Most of what happened during these elaborate negotiations is in the correspondence reprinted below. I have added introductory notes to explain some of the attending circumstances.

Considered collectively, this exchange of letters provides us with another important reminder—perhaps the first since the National Student Association scandals of 1967—of the contempt this most clandestine of our governmental agencies has for the integrity of the press and publishing industry. As the CIA's letter of July 28, 1972, shows, it was unable to rebut effectively my analysis of its role in the international heroin traffic during the last quarter century. Since the CIA simply had no plausible defense against this charge, it tried to impose prior censorship in order to avoid public scrutiny of its record. If it was not already clear, it now should be obvious to publishers that the Agency cannot be regarded as a responsible critic when its public image is seriously threatened by what is written about it.

II

In this letter, written after Cord Meyer, Jr.'s visit, Harper and Row asked the CIA for official confirmation of their interest in seeing the book. Since the CIA had never before been quite so willing to defend itself publicly, neither Harper and Row nor the Agency

and Row by stating categorically that it could rebut all my charges about its complicity in the international narcotics traffic. We were surprised, however, that the CIA made no reference to "national security" as one of its concerns in requesting to review the manuscript. Rather, the Agency made its request purely on grounds of government privilege.

Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

5. July 1972

Mr. B. Brooks Thomas
Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Mr. Cord Meyer has asked me to respond to your letter to him of June 30th in connection with the book, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, by Alfred W. McCoy.

As you are no doubt aware, Mr. McCoy testified on 2 June 1972 before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. His testimony included allegations concerning support of the international opium traffic by U. S. agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency, and numerous other allegations concerning participation in the opium traffic by both Americans and local personnel in Southeast Asia.

In the light of the pernicious nature of the drug traffic, allegations concerning involvement of the U. S. Government therein or the participation of American citizens should be made only if based on hard evidence. It is our belief that no reputable

Continued

STATINTL

CIA FUNDING CHALLENGED, PRESS SUPPRESSES STORY

Mass Media Ignore Item

A virtual news blackout has been declared by the nation's press concerning the major legal challenges that have been launched against the Central Intelligence Agency.

The August 10 filing of a suit in Washington against CIA Director Richard Helms and other government officials was a matter of court record and easily accessible to the news media. In addition, a news release containing essential facts about the story was hand delivered to the Washington Post, the Evening Star, the Associated Press and United Press International.

A week later, not one line concerning it had appeared anywhere in the country.

Earlier this year on July 20, an important decision in the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals guaranteed that the CIA would be brought to court on a challenge that had been in process since 1968. America's greatest newspaper "of record" the New York Times, ignored the story, as did the Washington Evening Star and most other papers. The Washington Post carried the story as a small item on page ten.

It was confirmed that editors were well aware of the story and its importance.

A call to one of Washington's two dailies produced this comment from a leading reporter: "You can call it a 'press conspiracy' if you like, but we're not going to print it and I'm sure no one else is either."

Court Moves Hit Secrecy

*Special to the Virginia Weekly

America's "invisible government," the Central Intelligence (CIA), owes its existence to a piece of legislation that is unconstitutional.

This is the likely import of recent actions in Federal Courts in Washington and Philadelphia.

In a suit filed August 10, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, three Washingtonians challenged the secrecy of the CIA's funding and accounting.

The Washington suit followed closely a trail-blazing decision on July 20 of this year by the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. In that decision a majority of the court held that there was a serious legal question concerning the constitutionality of the CIA act of 1949 which established a secret procedure for financing the agency.

A VIRTUALLY IGNORED CLAUSE

Both court cases are based on a virtually ignored clause of the United States Constitution specifically requiring that "a regular Statement and Account of the Receipt and Expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time." The CIA act of 1949 just as explicitly states "...Sums made available to the Agency may be expended without regard to the provisions of Government funds."

The spy agency receives somewhere between four and twenty billion dollars each year in public funds (how much is a closely guarded secret) that are carefully hidden throughout the appropriations figures for the entire federal government.

The new suit also asks for a state-by-state and nation-by-nation breakdown of CIA expenditures, as well as separating the money into categories by functions. CIA Director Richard Helms and Eliot Richardson, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare are brought into the local suit.

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STATINTL

ACTIVISM RENEWED

Prodigal Students Return

By WILLIAM DELANEY
Star-News Staff Writer

If the nation's protest-weary college students have slipped back into a tuned-out apathy, as some observers have claimed, Margery Tabankin hasn't heard of it.

For despite the lack of 1960s-style campus uprisings during the past year, the once-muscular National Student Association has been quietly stretching out for some of its old strength among activist student leaders.

"This convention is evidence that there is no trend toward apathy," Miss Tabankin crisply observed between sessions of NSA's 25th annual congress last week on the Catholic University campus.

She is the outgoing president of the NSA, succeeded by Tim Higgins, former University of Wisconsin student body president, who was elected yesterday 163 to 90.

"We have people here from 570 colleges — 100 more than last year," she said, adding that such dropout NSA affiliates as Stanford, Ohio State, Yale and Harvard are once again represented among the delegates or observers.

In a Different Way'

These prodigals are returning to the NSA fold, she said, because of a renewed interest among student activists in the nitty-gritty "skills" discussed at scores of convention workshops — how to conduct voter-registration drives on campus, how to set up financially independent student governments, how students can serve as consumer advocates, how to get gynecological care offered in campus infirmaries.

"Back in 1968, 1969, there was so much happening on a

lot of campuses that the students felt they didn't need NSA, that we couldn't catch up with what was going on locally," recalled Miss Tabankin, a 1970 graduate of the University of Wisconsin.

"Now, students are just as involved as they were back then (in the days of mass demonstrations), but they're working in a different way, implementing the changes that the kids in the late 60s made way for . . ."

Despite this interest, however, NSA still has not reached the 600-affiliate strength it enjoyed before the revelation in 1968 that the Central Intelligence Agency had secretly been paying some of NSA's bills, with foundations serving as CIA fund conduits.

Its credibility and financial health severely damaged, NSA found itself with a half-million-dollar debt and only about 400 campus affiliates as the antiwar movement picked up momentum.

"Probably the proudest thing NSA has done, despite its problems through the years, is to produce leadership," Miss Tabankin says. "Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, Jesse Jackson, Sam Brown, Allard Loewenstein — all of them, at one time or another, ran for office in the NSA."

Through the heyday of the radical antiwar leaders appears to be past, NSA continues to speak for a distinctly left-of-center constituency.

A student-conducted poll of delegates registering for the current NSA congress showed 82 percent favoring McGovern for president, 12 percent favoring President Nixon and the rest split among others, according to Miss Tabankin.

She notes, however, that the chairman of the NSA congress steering committee, Allen

McGary of Newark State, is a New Jersey worker for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President — "our house Republican," she adds.

Because of NSA's tax-exempt status, the organization cannot legally endorse political candidates.

But Miss Tabankin says she senses an "overwhelming" personal commitment to the McGovern campaign among the NSA delegates, and expects the campaign to be the "consumming" interest on U.S. campuses this fall.

Having herself returned from a trip to North Vietnam earlier this year, Miss Tabankin says she's tentatively planning to work with actress Jane Fonda after retiring from the NSA presidency this weekend, "constantly raising the issue of the war."

"We're pretty much the only game in town now," says Miss Tabankin, noting the demise of other major national student groups in recent years.

She proudly reports that NSA's nagging indebtedness has been pared down to about \$38,000 and will be paid off by Jan. 1 with income from NSA endorsements of student insurance plans, car-rental plans in Europe, and other enterprises.

Most of its \$160,000-a-year operating budget comes from grants from the Ford, Field, New World and other foundations, she says.

And she dreams of an NSA income of several million dollars in a few years if student governments can become financially independent of college administrations and split student-paid dues with the national organization.

"Student governments have always used NSA as a central source for ideas and resources, many of them coming out of topical workshops like those at this convention," Miss Tabankin says.

"We have survived, and succeeded, because of our flexibility."

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Businessman Named Dean at Columbia

Harvey Picker Will Head Foreign Affairs School

By M. A. FARBER

A 56-year-old business executive who dropped out of a graduate program in political science at Columbia University in 1966 has been appointed dean of the university's School of International Affairs.

Harvey Picker, who was not forgotten by his professors after business pressures forced him to give up his doctoral studies, will succeed Dr. Andrew W. Cordier as dean on Aug. 1, the university announced yesterday.

Dr. Cordier, a former Under Secretary General of the United Nations, was named dean in 1962 and served as president of Columbia in the aftermath of the student disorders in 1968.

Mr. Picker has long been interested in foreign relations and has held a number of government appointments, notably membership on the National Science Board and on the American delegation to the International Atomic Energy Commission.

In 1970, he resigned as a trustee of Colgate University to accept a teaching post there, specializing in the links between public policy and science.

The new dean plans to continue as chairman of the board of Picker Corporation, manufacturers of X-ray and nuclear instruments. The company, which employs about 2,000 people and has headquarters in Cleveland, was founded by Mr. Picker's father, James. It has been owned by C.I.T. Financial Corporation since 1958.

Selection Called Unusual

The selection of a dean with limited experience in academic or international affairs and without an advanced degree in his field was viewed as unusual. "I couldn't agree more with that," Mr. Picker said yesterday in a telephone interview from Boston.

But Mr. Picker was highly praised by Dr. William J. McGill, Columbia's president, and by others who regard him as a pragmatic man with a keen sense of organization and the reflective style and refinement of mind often associated with the upper reaches of university life.

"One of the good things about Columbia is that when talent shows itself a plumber's significance," Dr. McGill said.

Mr. Picker, he said, is "an extraordinary man—an adminin-



Harvey Picker

istrator of unquestioned ability, an acknowledged expert on the relations between science, technology and government and a public servant whose activities on behalf of a better world indicate human qualities that are extremely precious."

The new dean was nominated by an official nine-member committee of faculty members, students and administrative staff members of the school. Two of the committee members—Dr. Loren R. Graham and Dr. William T. R. Fox—taught Mr. Picker when he was a graduate student in the mid-nineteen-sixties, and one of them successfully proposed Mr. Picker as dean.

"Harvey Picker was an exceptional student," Dr. Fox recalled, "someone who could take theoretical material and deal with it in terms of policy. For six to eight years now he's been making a deliberate move sideways from one successful career to another."

Associate Dean Named

Dr. Fox noted that Mr. Picker would now be "part of a complementary team" in the leadership of the International Affairs School. The other member of the team will be Dr. Ainslee T. Embree, who will succeed the late Dr. Philip E. Mosley as associate dean of the school. Dr. Embree, an authority on modern India, taught at Columbia for a decade before joining the Duke University faculty in 1969.

Mr. Picker, according to a senior Columbia official, is ex-

pected to "come in softly" at the school, one of the most prestigious of its kind in the country. "The changes he makes will be subtle," the official remarked.

The school, with 90 profes-

Appointee Had to Give Up Quest for a Doctorate

ments elsewhere in the university and 175 graduate students, includes eight regional institutes.

It is both a center of scholarly research and a training ground for future diplomats, academicians, businessmen and others with international interests—an, at times, difficult dual role that some Columbia officials feel should be further clarified.

School Has Expanded

Under Dr. Cordier's direction, the school has been considerably expanded, and last fall it moved into a new \$21-million, 15-story building at Amsterdam Avenue and 118th Street.

In recent years the school was criticized by Students for a Democratic Society for maintaining close ties to the Government and for having accepted aid from the Central Intelligence Agency between 1955 and 1967 for a research project on Eastern European economics. The entrances to the school were blockaded by students during the disturbances at Columbia last April.

Mr. Picker, who has permanently abandoned his pursuit of a Ph.D. degree, said this was "a good time for the school to reevaluate itself.

"We still have to be in the business of educating all sorts of people," he said, "but we also have to be concerned with such planetary issues as were expressed at the Stockholm conference on the environment. International affairs must be engaged in satisfying changing sets of values on a world scale—the quality of life kind of thing."

A graduate of Colgate University, Mr. Picker studied politics and philosophy at Oxford University in 1936-37 and received a master's degree from the Harvard Business School before entering the Navy in 1940.

The new dean, who became president of the Picker Corporation in 1945, has served on nuclear weapons control panels for the United Nations Association and is a trustee of the Hudson Institute and Connecticut College. He enrolled as a graduate student at Columbia in 1964.

Mr. Picker's wife, Jean, has been an alternate United States delegate to the United Nations

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extraordinary man—an adminin-

istrators posts.

STATINTL

The trail of a warmongering CIA journalist

By PHILLIP BONOSKY
Who is Charles W. Wiley?

He showed up in Saigon last week and everybody in Saigon is asking the same question. Who is Charles Wiley?

It was Charles Wiley, an American "journalist," accredited to the North American Newspaper Alliance, Perth Amboy, N.J. Evening News, The National Review, and the American Legion Magazine, who said the American press is lying about the war. The Saigon puppets are winning it; not losing it, he is reported to have told a meeting of top level Vietnamese officials.

Wiley is directly quoted: "The Vietnamese Army is winning the war, not losing it as printed in newspapers, radio and television in the United States."

On the basis of Wiley's "report," Vu Kahn, a Saigon government press representative, warned the members of the American press stationed in Saigon not to "lie" anymore. Exactly what would happen to them if they kept on "lying," he didn't say but left the threat hanging.

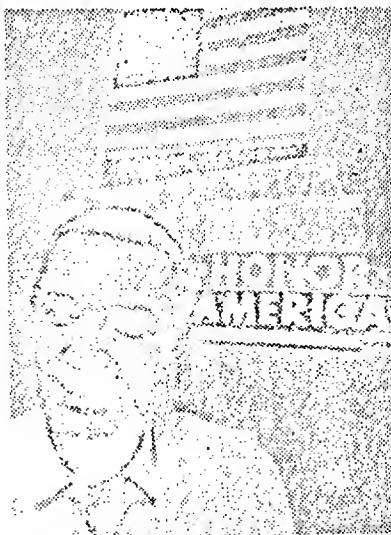
But who is Charles W. Wiley whose word is so important to Saigon and whose opinion can be used as a club against the press? What kind of a newspaper reporter is he really?

I called the magazines and newspapers mentioned in the New York Times dispatch of June 21, to which Wiley is described as being "accredited." Right off, I found that no Perth Amboy Evening News existed—hadn't existed since 1968, when it was sold to the News-Tribune and moved out of Perth Amboy to Woodbridge. Wiley did not belong to them, a spokesman said.

Buckley's magazine

At the National Review, William Buckley's magazine, the spokesman there demurred at the suggestion that Mr. Wiley, whom they knew well enough, was "accredited" to them. In

rather respectful tones, they referred to Mr. Wiley's previous non-newspaper activities against busing, but said they had connection with Mr. Wiley only in "secondary" terms. However, they were waiting to hear what Wiley might have to say about his



The real Charles Wiley at the Commodore Hotel in New York City in 1970.

trip to Saigon.

At the North American Newspaper Alliance, a spokesman there said: "No, he is not accredited." He added, however, that Wiley had also been at their offices before leaving for Saigon and had dickered with them about accreditation. But no, all they'd agree to was to take a story from him if it really turned out to be a "big" one. But they didn't feel he ought to be described as being "accredited."

Waiting for Wiley

But at the American Legion Magazine, the editor there said he was waiting for Mr. Wiley to show up to tell him what he'd seen in Saigon. No, he wouldn't say Mr. Wiley was accredited to the magazine—anyhow, "he has no paper" from the magazine saying so. But he admired Mr. Wiley's exploits very much and had had dealings with him in the past.

"I don't see how he manages not to get himself shot!" he said with mixed admiration and amazement. There he was, "a skinny little fellow," who looked as if he never had a decent meal in his life. What does he do? One year he managed to slip into Russia from the South, and travel all through the country taking pictures, until he was finally caught by the GPU, his film confiscated, and put on a train for Finland.

"But you know what? Wiley was clever enough to hide more film in a secret place and took it out on the train. Well, what could they do? He was already in Finland."

"How'd he manage to get into Russia secretly and travel like that?" I asked him.

"He's got gall," he said.

"Gee," I said. "it sounds just like a movie!"

Yes, it did, said the editor, and added that Wiley had been in lots of Communist countries as an "antagonist" newsman. But still, said he, "I wouldn't say he was accredited."

So whom in the world did Charles Wiley really belong to?

It's not that easy to pin down. Digging into old files, you come across a trail that leads into many strange places.

For instance, a Charles Wiley showed up at the World Youth Festival in Vienna, in 1959, and then in 1960, he—or someone with his name—was arrested in Camaguey, Cuba, where he claimed to be working as a "free-lance reporter," and was expelled.

In 1960, he and a self-confessed FBI agent, Herb Romerstein, showed up before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington, where Wiley testified that the world peace and youth movements were "communist-controlled."

Two years later, he was at Helsinki at the Youth Festival,

continued

BOSTON, MASS.

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M - 237,967

S - 566.377

Ex-CIA man will give White

By Fred Pillsbury
Globe Staff

WASHINGTON — For months Robert Kiley, a 37-year-old former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) man turned police expert, has been shuttling back and forth between the Police Foundation here and Boston City Hall.

Tomorrow morning he will move permanently into an office down the corridor from Mayor White where he will start a new career in city government.

Kiley will be a key assistant to the mayor. Unlike the other six staff personnel white recently hired, he will also head a department — the Office of Public Service, which administers. White's try's domestic problems proudest innovation, were far more important.

His assignment as Public Service director, however, will be second in importance to his duties as a link between the mayor and the police department, although \$25,000 of his \$32,000 salary will come from Public Services.

He is the city's chief recruiter for a new police commissioner who will take over the job recently vacated by Edmund L. McNamara. He will also work closely with the new commissioner in bringing about a substantial overhaul of the police department.

Why would the executive assistant to Richard Helms, the CIA director, decide to get involved in city government?

Kiley, who studied government at Harvard for two years after graduating from Notre Dame, talked about it in his Washington office.

He became involved with the CIA after learn-

liaison with police

ing that it supported the National Student Association of which he was vice president.

"I suppose if I were a student today and heard about it (CIA fund support) I would react with horror," he said. "However, in the 50s government help was the popular, democratic thing."

He describes the CIA as a "first rate government bureaucracy." But it was a bureaucracy, and last year he decided that, "leaving aside moral judgments," the Vietnam war was wrong and that the country administrates. White's try's domestic problems were far more important.

He went to work for the Foundation, which funnels Ford Foundation money to police departments, as associate director and since then has acquainted himself with policemen and police departments throughout the country.

For someone who has never lived or worked in Boston he appears to have a fairly detailed impression of what the department is like.

Boston may have the oldest police force in the country (sergeants average about 51), and it has few blacks or Spanish-speaking officers. Kiley made those points and then he said that Boston was lucky that it has resisted reforms of the 50s made by so many other big cities.

The vogue, he said, was to centralize police operations, "but, somehow, the wave just washed over

Boston and it didn't happen." Today, Boston's police force still has a "strong neighborhood tradition," which is just the sort of thing police administrators are advocating today. Other cities, which centralized, are rebuilding, while Boston, Kiley feels, has a good foundation.

When people talk to him about the police in Boston, Kiley said, they inevitably ask him about police corruption. He does not feel knowledgeable enough to make an assessment at this point, but his guess is that police corruption is a problem, as it is in many other big cities.

He lists only three or four large American cities — Los Angeles, Kansas City, Cincinnati — as having clean police forces. "The corrupt list is much longer."

But a lot depends on one's definition of corruption, he pointed out.

"A businessman would think nothing of being taken out for lunch," he said. "but there are some people who would say that if a policeman accepts a cup of coffee, he's corrupting himself. On the other hand, we can say that there is one man in a department who is involved

in any drug traffic, and if

there is knowledge of his actions, the whole department stinks. There has been evidence of that going on in New York."

The police of the future, and he specifically means Boston's police, must become involved in new areas. They must also become involved in fighting "white collar" crime.

Boston's police force he hopes, will also be younger, employ more blacks and be better educated and more specialized.

However, Kiley said that he is "delighted" that White "is trying to understand the role of the police in the city."

Kiley has been sending police professionals and experts "ostensibly" to give him the benefit of their opinions on what the new commissioner should be and which direction the department should take. It is quite possible, he admitted, that an adviser could become a candidate. "Unless we go inside the city, that's probably how the commissioner will be chosen, Kiley said.

The list of candidates with the proper qualifications is short, but the mayor has not ruled out choosing somebody from within the department, he said.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

U.S. Watches Joiners, Not Loners

By Jack Anderson

The Secret Service, in its desperate efforts to prevent political assassinations, keeps a close watch on more than 400 organizations, ranging from the Women's Liberation Movement to the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance.

The only trouble: a federal study of 81 assassination attempts reveals that the assailants were losers, not joiners. For instance, Arthur Herman Bremer, who has been indicted for the point-blank shooting of George Wallace, doesn't appear in the Secret Service's computerized files of 180,000 potential assassins.

But the liberated ladies and the Oriental scrubbers are in the secret files, along with the Quaker Action Group, the Nonviolent Direct Action Group, the Gay Liberation Front and other organizations that the Secret Service considers "of protective interest."

Usually this means the group has written to the President, demonstrated at the White House, threatened harm to some official or adhered to a nonconformist political ideology.

The Nonviolent Direct Action group, for example, is watched because it has "urged members to write Pres and other govt. officials to protest war in Vietnam." But not even the Secret Service seems to know why the Gay Liberation Front is listed. Its "interest in

protectees," acknowledges the Secret Service file on the homosexual movement, is "unknown."

The file on the National Welfare Rights Organization, to cite another example, contains a similar notation: "Interest in Protectees—None." But the Liberation News Service is kept under observation because it has been "highly critical of Pres & Administration."

Postal Watch

Any group that demonstrates in front of the White House, apparently, is automatically added to the suspicious list. When the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees picketed the White House on August 25, 1971, for example, the union probably had no idea that the Secret Service was lurking in the bushes taking notes.

In a confidential memo about the postal picketers, Special Agent Louis B. Sims wrote that "a group of about 40 persons arrived at the White House and commenced the demonstration carrying various signs concerning better wages and equal job opportunity." Sims attached to his memo "photographs taken of the group and a copy of one of the pamphlets handed out."

The National American Indian Youth Council was kept under similar surveillance outside the White House on July 17, 1970. "Apparently they had

placards under shirts," wrote Special Agent Robert R. Faison, "because they were not observed prior to the demonstration holding them up." He noted that "pictures of the demonstrators were taken by the Visual Intelligence Branch."

Not even the correspondents who cover the White House are free of suspicion. Back in September, 1967, representatives of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians set up a lonely picket across Pennsylvania Avenue from the executive mansion.

A Secret Service report notes that at 1:20 p.m. the protesting radioman unfurled a sign stating: "ABC has a radio studio in the White House, and we are not permitted to walk across the street." The picketer, apparently, was banished to the opposite side of the street.

Eavesdroppers' Report

Secret Service eavesdroppers also reported overhearing a picketer "make a statement to persons on the sidewalk to the effect that they aren't getting enough; it's like the dark ages; any time the President wants to go on TV they have to run around and get him on prime time."

The Secret Service keeps the closest watch, however, on organizations of ethnics, students, blacks and other minorities. The Cuban Nationalist

Movement and Iranian Students Association, for instance are among dozens of ethnic groups in the files.

Among the black groups under surveillance are the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Even a black-owned bookstore in Washington, the Drum and Spear, is listed.

The student groups watched by the Secret Service include the left-wing Students for a Democratic Society and right-wing National Youth Alliance. But even the National Student Association, which until recent years received financial aid from the Central Intelligence Agency, is on the list.

Here are a few other excerpts from the guarded Secret Service files:

- John Birch Society: "Accused Pres. Eisenhower of Communist affiliation."

- Federal Employees for a Democratic Society: "Led vigil at U.S. Capitol Bldg. to protest ABM System."

- Young Chicanos for Community Action. "Have sponsored demonstrations in support of Mexican-American causes."

- Quaker Action Group: "Opposed to war & the use of nuclear weapons."

- Congress of Racial Equality: "Participated in Martin Luther King's 1963 March on Washington."

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13 May 1972

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Candidate Critical Of Nixon Policy

STATINTL

Jed Reveals His CIA Past

By STEVE DIMICK
Of The Journal Staff

U.S. senatorial hopeful Jed Johnson spent more than two years as an undercover agent for the Central Intelligence Agency during the early 1960s, he said Friday.

Johnson said he carried on CIA activities in more than a dozen Asian, African and Latin American countries while working for one of the front organizations exposed in the "CIA on campus" scandals in 1967.

The former Sixth District congressman Friday released a copy of a speech he will deliver to the Oklahoma Jaycees convention Saturday, in which he reveals his CIA involvement.

He said a controversial trip to Cuba he made while a student at Oklahoma University which was later thrown back at him during his 1964 congressional race, also was actually a government-sponsored "intelligence-gathering" trip.

In his speech to the Jaycees, Johnson will attack President Nixon's new interdiction policy against North Vietnamese supply routes. He bases his criticism largely on his knowledge of the CIA, which reportedly has claimed that the blockade will not work.

Johnson quotes from the "Kissinger Papers," a secret government study conducted by the CIA and other information gathering groups and made public by columnist Jack Anderson two weeks ago. The study reported the CIA's belief that no amount of interdiction will be successful in stopping the flow of war materiel to North Vietnam.

"I am personally acquainted in some depth with the degree of precision that the CIA operates within its intelligence activities, because I worked under contract as a covert agent for the CIA prior to my election to the Congress," Johnson said.

"At that time, the CIA had extremely detailed information on such things as which hand an obscure African provincial chief would eat with and the vintage of his favorite wines," he said.

"I am convinced after reading the Kissinger Papers that the CIA estimates of our capacity to interdict supplies was done with similar attention to precision and gave absolutely no reason for encouragement that this military action will successfully bring the war to a conclusion."

In an interview with The Oklahoma Journal before his announcement Saturday, Johnson said he worked for the CIA from 1962 to 1964. He said his experience as an agent has caused him to have "complete faith" in the CIA's assessments of various situations and in the agency's non-partisan position.

"I know that the CIA is very, very meticulous and careful in its evaluations and is accurate and precise," he said.

"The point is, if the CIA has given such an evaluation (of the Vietnam blockade), I know they've done a thorough assessment of the situation. They're very capable people and are not political; they're very apolitical."

"While I was never involved in CIA operations in Southeast Asia, I know personally that they literally can tell you the minutest details about minor African political figures and I'm sure they have done the same type of investigation in Vietnam," Johnson said.

Johnson said he was not at liberty to disclose his former CIA ties while he was a member of Congress because the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs, the dummy foundation for which he worked, was still in business.

"For me to say anything would have literally endangered the lives of some of our people overseas," he said.

He came back to the U.S. early in 1964, on leave from the Foundation, and then resigned from the organization before he made his successful race for Congress.

Johnson served in Congress from 1964-66. He said the "whistle was blown" on the cover of the dummy foundation in 1967.

"I'm still not sure how much I'm at liberty to tell you," he said.

The former student leader at the University of Oklahoma said he was approached by the CIA (referred to among agents as "the firm") in 1962, a year after his graduation from college.

"They contacted you to see if you were interested and then did a very thorough security clearance," he said. "Later, you were taken to a hotel room where you had to sign an oath saying you would not divulge any secrets or critical information."

"After that, I was what they call 'under contract' to the CIA until I resigned," he said.

"It was fascinating work," he said. "If I hadn't run for Congress, I might have made a career out of the CIA."

Johnson said he actually worked for the U.S. Youth Council, which was funded by the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs, which in turn was funded by the CIA.

His duties, about which he was never too specific, involved basically being a sort of goodwill ambassador-cum-spy.

"I led delegations of young Americans to developing nations and spoke before various legislative assemblies," he said. "We met with leaders of countries, presidents, prime ministers."

"Once at an Indian Youth Congress in Tirupathi, India, I debated a couple of older

Communist officials," he said.

"I also did get information on what the political ideology was of up-and-coming political leaders," he said.

Johnson balked at the word "propaganda" when asked whether his job entailed more gathering of information or disseminating propaganda.

"It involved a lot of both," he said. "But we were never told what to say by the CIA. We were never given any orders about what to say in a speech."

"I was simply a youth leader telling them what we believe, why our economic system is the most productive, why our political system is the best."

Johnson's undercover activity began when he was still in college, with a 1959 trip to Cuba which later returned to haunt him during his congressional race in 1964.

"There were charges made during the campaigning that I had taken this trip with other student leaders in defiance of the State Department," he said. "This was untrue. The trip was sponsored by the U.S. government."

"I was asked by people in the State Department to make the trip to get information about what was going on," he said.

"At the time the group of young student leaders made the trip, shortly after the Cuban revolution, we didn't know that things in Cuba would go the way they went," Johnson said.

He said another of his missions was to debate young Communist leaders in Cuba.

However, he was not able to reveal in 1964 that he had known in 1959 that the Cuban trip was a government-sponsored one.

"It was a very interesting experience, but it was frustrating that I couldn't rebut some of the charges made against me," he said.

"As a result of that trip and some other activities I was involved in, I was later asked to become an agent for the CIA."

During his years as an agent, under the code name "Mr. Page" ("I chose that name because I had been a page in the Senate and thought it would be easy to remember"), he was at liberty to tell only his wife of his activities.

"There were a couple of agents before me who had just disappeared," he said.

Johnson says he still has faith in the persuasive and example type of diplomacy, the former the kind he said is practiced by the CIA.

NORFOLK, VA.
PILOT

M - 127,079
S - 174,257

Approved For Release

OP80-0160

STATINT

Intelligence and the Colleges: A Study

By Don Hill.

The Virginian-Pilot Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON.

THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY—The CIA, dreaded, accused, and abused on seven continents—has joined the college PR lecture circuit.

But unlike its fellow campus crawlers among government agencies and special pleaders, the CIA wants its public relations program kept hush-hush.

Secret publicity? This tricky exercise was attempted last month at Hollins College, Roanoke, Va., at a weekend conference entitled—honest—"Freedom and Thought Control in America."

A senior CIA official made a speech to more than 100 students, at least one newspaper reporter, and a girl with a tape recorder.

The handsome, gray-haired speaker—who had been identified in advance publicity only as "John Maury, federal employe"—was introduced to the open audience as a spokesman for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Maury actually is a high CIA official, in charge among other duties of the agency's congressional liaison.

His remarks, Maury told the mixed-bag group confidentially, should be "kept in the family."

The girl with the tape recorder said afterwards she planned to make transcriptions for anyone who wanted them.

Maury subsequently protested that news reports of his foray would require the CIA to "review its efforts" at "trying to maintain some sort of communication with the academic community."

Queried for this report, he said last week, "Well, we wouldn't want to be accused of going around propagandizing on college campuses."

It's hard to see what else the CIA was doing. According to Dr. Henry Nash, chairman of Hollins' department of political science, Maury told him the Hollins visit ~~Approved For Release~~ see whether the CIA can speak to student groups to try to sort of refurbish its

image.

In his talk, Maury painted a glowing picture of CIA operations.

The agency, he said, is "the eyes and ears of the policy makers and it is our job to collect enough information so that they will not blunder into dangerous situations."

Later over cocktails, Nicholas Von Hoffman, the Washington Post's impassioned leftist columnist, who was a fellow conference participant, twitted Maury about that.

Von Hoffman unkindly mentioned the Bay of Pigs, as "one of the agency's triumphs."

The agency, Maury responded, only gathers information; it doesn't make policy.

The speaker had some titillating tidbits for the audience. It is little known, he said, but the senior Russian intelligence officer on duty the day Francis Gary Powers was shot down, May 1, 1960, was working with American intelligence. The officer was later caught and executed.

Von Hoffman apparently didn't take time to note that some circles don't consider the 1960 U2 incident an American intelligence triumph either.

The CIA, however, Maury said was able with accuracy to determine the extent of the Russian long-range missile threat and this information helped President Kennedy triumph in the Cuban missile crisis.

There was some heckling from Maury's audience, according to people who were there. A woman told Maury she'd lived in Athens a year and was appalled at the CIA's role in supporting the military "colonels coup" in that country.

Maury shot back that he'd been in Greece for six years and had been Athens agent at the time of the coup. Some of her statements were inaccurate, he told the woman.

After the speech session, Maury, Von Hoffman and others retired to the ~~Approved For Release~~ 2001/05/04 CHARDP80-01801 R000100230001-8 Virginia Carter, for cocktails and more heckling.

Despite the criticism to which it is subjected, Maury said in his speech, the CIA's activities are directed and scrutinized by a number of federal organizations and the Congress.

How about the CIA's subsidizing of the National Student Association, an international scandal when the story broke, Von Hoffman asked Maury over drinks.

There was no other way to provide the money for those students to get to international conferences, Maury said.

But, Von Hoffman asked innocently, hadn't congressional committees already decided not to appropriate funds for this purpose? Didn't the CIA thus thwart the will of Congress?

"You don't understand," Von Hoffman says Maury replied.

It's not really a secret that the CIA long has attempted to maintain contact with college campuses. That, after all is where it must recruit the bright young minds that will don the cloaks and wield the daggers of the future. That also is where the scholarly studies and overt information gathering that are the basis for 90 per cent of intelligence are centered.

Maury had noted in his speech that the CIA reaps some of its criticism because it's a facet of American morality "that we feel that anything done in secret must be a little naughty."

Like secret publicity maybe?

Maury also had said that intelligence workers "learn from mistakes and failures."

There may have been a lesson at Hollins. The newspaper reporter was drawn to the Maury speech because of advance publicity sent out by the college. It said that a "federal government employe" would discuss intelligence activities. CIA agents often describe themselves to acquaintances simply as "federal employees." "That just meant CIA to me," the reporter said.

"I know," said Jane White, the student chairwoman who arranged the conference. "That's why we put it that way."

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Poster

The NSA: Trouble's Nothing New

A Commentary

By Nicholas von Hoffman

Marge Tabankin isn't one to sniff the cocaine of false optimism. "Our organization is known for three things: the CIA scandal, stranding students in Europe on charter flights and being freaky anti-war kids" she says in appraising the reputation of the National Student Association over which she presides in her capacity as president.

The association is the largest, most stable, independent youth organization in America. Every other big youth group is actually a closely controlled front for adult polities, or is in one way or the other too weak, too small, or too inert to hope to play an important part on the national scene. Only the National Student Association with the membership of some 500 college and university student bodies is free enough to be the organizational voice and muscle of a big segment of our youth.

Now in its 25th year of life, NSA is living on hard times. "My first day in office," Tabankin tells you, "I was hit with three law suits for bad debts." Now the roof on the S Street headquarters here in Washington has sprung a leak and the plumbers say it'll cost \$2,000 that Marge doesn't have to fix a newly busted sewer line.

Trouble is nothing new for NSA. In fact, the reason it's up against it now is that it's one organization that didn't protect its rear but mixed it up in all the major public issues of its time. In the late '40s and early '50s it battled over communism and the cold war. Some time during that period the CIA snuck in and secretly began funding it, putting up money that sent early leaders like Gloria Steinem abroad to represent America at the international youth conferences which were such a big thing in those days.

The years of the CIA money made life easy. It was that money that got them the headquarters building and kept up the mortgage payments. "Then," says Tabankin, "it used to be that every member of the NSA staff had their own Air Travel, American Express and telephone credit card. After the CIA was exposed and we refused their money, we must have owed every major corporation in America. In 1969, we were able to negotiate a \$200,000 loan which let us settle our debt for 30 cents on the dollar. It's that loan we're trying to pay off now. If we can hold out one more year, if we can just hold out until next January 15, we'll be alright."

By all accounts the CIA made no attempt to control NSA domestic policy, and that may account for how

the organization was able to get involved in the civil rights movement early. The involvement cost the association their Southern school memberships, which Marge reports are just now beginning to return with places like the University of Tennessee reaffiliating.

The antiwar effort also cost much in terms of support, and now, when it's commendable, the association gets no credit for having developed people like Allard Lowenstein, Rennie Davis and Sam Brown, three people of vastly different political complexions but who have in common a history of activist opposition to the war. Despite all that NSA has done, it has so little money it can't afford to send out traveling reps to help develop programs and unified actions on the campuses. The staff, Marge and her vice president, Tom Mooney, hitchhike and make it the best they can on \$80 a week.

Right now NSA survives on a dues structure under which the largest university student bodies pay only \$150 a year. Tabankin's plan is to build up the loyalty of students to the organization to the extent that they'll each kick in something like a dollar a year. This, she knows, will take time, but as she says, "I'm sick and tired of hearing about 'the poor student.' They can buy one record less every year, because if they want their own organization they've got to pay for it. We can't exist as the lieges of the corporate world, taking money from foundations. Why, those guys at the foundations literally think they are the revolution. They have this god-like feeling that they are effecting social change by looking around and seeing who they're going to give their money to."

Nevertheless, Tabankin has been successful in getting about \$65,000 out of them and in this peanut butter sandwich year, that helps. For the long haul, she's counting on solid service, educational programs and heavy organizational work to bring NSA through. Already there is something to show: progress in organizing the lower-income student in the community colleges; a new service program for women, a joint worker-student endeavor on industrial safety and pollution in Minnesota.

Although Marge is the organization's first woman president, she doesn't think that had much to do with her getting the job, "though it didn't hurt. I was everybody's second choice. They all had their favorite sons and when they saw they couldn't win, they switched to me. People felt NSA was really in a bad way . . . a lot of hate and factionalism, so people asked me to do it."

Marge Tabankin wants to be a winner. If she doesn't win, if the only organization of its kind vanishes, and youth has no major organization of its own, she won't be the only loser.

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RAMPARTS

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016

The CIA as Cop

THREE IS MOUNTING speculation over the Central Intelligence Agency's role in domestic police operations. While the CIA does not have subpoena or police powers, it nonetheless maintains bases and covert operations within the United States. Heretofore, it was usually believed that these operations were of a counter-espionage nature, directed primarily against the Soviets. However, now there is increasing speculation *within* the Washington intelligence community that there is something else going on, that possibly the CIA has struck up a direct relationship with police forces in major cities.

Two fairly recent personnel shifts at the Agency set off this speculation. The first concerned Robert Kiley who was the operations officer in direct charge of the student activities during the 1960s. Kiley supervised the NSA operation, coordinating the various fronts. After the NSA was exposed, Kiley was brought back to the Agency headquarters at Langley and made executive assistant to Helms, the director. About six months ago Kiley left his job to become associate director of a new organization called the Police Foundation which was begun in 1970 on a \$30 million grant from the Ford Foundation, "to help American police agencies realize their fullest potential by developing and funding promising programs of innovation and improvement."

The second personnel shift concerned the resignation from the CIA of Drexel Godfrey, who was head of the Office of Current Intelligence. Godfrey quit this job and in 1970 went to work for the Bureau of Narcotics at the Justice Department. Then he became executive director of the Governor's Justice Commission at Harrisburg, Pa., another recently formed organization to help improve law enforcement by giving grants to different local police departments.

While the Washington intelligence

community may well be overly paranoid, the speculation is that these new organizations are reminiscent of the student fronts, and, more important, typical of Agency activities abroad. The fact that two former high officials left the Agency for police work simply adds to the speculation. Moreover, the CIA has taken an increasing interest in domestic police activities within the last few years. In 1968 Chicago police officers received high-level briefings at CIA headquarters in Langley and were taken to the CIA secret paramilitary training camps, maintained in Virginia and the Carolinas. The Los Angeles police are also believed to have been visitors. All of this was regarded as unusual within the Agency itself, and there was expectation by some officials that the CIA would finally get a crack at the student radicals.

But then suddenly the President announced that all domestic security work would be handled by the Army and the FBI. At the CIA, it seemed too sudden to be true. Based on past experience, some CIA men took the order as a go-ahead for covert work. They say that, if the Agency were to become deeply involved with the US police, it would probably first attempt simply to gather information, to create a situation where it could begin to analyze intelligence—on prison conditions, radicals, police, the FBI, and so on. Then it would attempt to change the nature of the police force, hoping to model it more on Agency theories—emphasizing such activities as counter-espionage, shrewd intelligence analysis, etc. On an operations level, one way in which the Agency might attempt to rationalize its increased domestic activities would be to cite alleged connections between radical groups and the Soviets of China, warning of increased activities by Soviet espionage, and under that rationalization increase its operations at the secret US bases.

—JAMES RIDGEWAY

Police Foundation

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Washington DC 20036
Phone (202) 833-1460

Robert R. Kiley
Associate Director

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R0

LEWISTOWN, PA.
SENTINEL

E - 14³¹² DEC 3 1971

Editorials

More Control Of Government Agencies

There are certain sections of our democracy of which no branch of government has complete control. For instance, look at the C.I.A.

Two years ago, many people were shocked when they found out that the Central Intelligence Agency was giving scholarships to students for study in foreign countries. The implication was that these students, in return for their tuition and books, were spies for the United States government.

The U.S. citizenry was shocked to find out that not even Congress knows where funds earmarked for the C.I.A. are spent. The C. I. A. has been allowed to operate under the assumption that unless all of their plans are shrouded in complete secrecy, the security of the United States will be threatened.

We feel that the reverse is true. We cannot see any harm in letting Senators and Congressmen with security clearance know where these funds are being spent. On the contrary, we are afraid that the very secrecy of this agency is a threat to all of the people of the United States. We supply funds to a police agency which is not responsible to anyone.

The temptation is there for a power hungry individual to use the funds against the forces of democracy. If there is nobody to answer to what is the harm in trying to set up a private dictatorship? Even if the attempt fails, the next year he could tell the Congress that it was none of their business what he was trying to do. Tradition would dictate that Congress would accept this — then give the agency more funds for another year's work.

We will grant that this would be an extreme case. However, we believe that there is a distinct possibility that the C.I.A., as well as other agencies without direct control, could someday work against our government.

We therefore believe that all agencies of the U. S. government should be forced to submit to the Congress a budget with every dollar earmarked for a specific project.

Only then can we be sure that none of our tax dollars are being spent to subvert our own government.

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REF ID: A6221971 / 50 CENS

NEWS

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STATINTL

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OMAHA, NEBR.
WORLD HERALD

OCT 27 1970

M - 125,376

S - 273,394

Bluffs Man Aids Harris

A Council Bluffs native who was a leader in the 1968 move for the Democratic party to drop President Johnson today was named a director in Sen. Fred Harris's campaign for the 1972 Democratic nomination.

Sam Brown, 28, now of Denver, will head a 17-state effort, on the behalf of the Oklahoman's candidacy.

Brown, a Harvard University graduate, got national attention in 1967 when he worked with the National Student Association to expose the Central Intelligence Agency's subsidy of some college students.

He was a leader in the Vietnam moratorium efforts and worked for Sen. Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota when he sought the 1968 presidential nomination.

STATINTL

TRENTON, Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016

TIMES

E - 81,855

TIMES-ADVERTISER

S - 102,422

OCT 17 1971

A Profile

Sahl Gives 'Em All The Needle

By JON SENDERLING

Staff Writer

NEWTOWN — Comedian Mort Sahl, who some critics have said died just about the time Lenny Bruce took his drug overdose, was sitting in the recreation room of one of those suburban middle-class homes Robert Young always lives in, trying to kill time before his 8 p.m. concert.

What he was doing was the thing he does best, talking in his inimitable, seemingly disjointed way.

His day so far had been miserable. There had been a communications foulup over the time his plane from Mobile was to arrive, and he had had to rent a car and drive to Bucks County instead of being picked up at the airport.

And on top of that, his back, which had been broken for the second time in an automobile accident earlier in the year, was bothering him and he was taking drugs to ease the pain.

Maybe, as they had with Bruce, the drugs helped him in other ways, too. Because he kept talking. And not even a two-year-old competing for the small audience's attention could shut him up.

No One Like Him

The truth is nobody wanted to. There just aren't that many people around with Sahl's versatile approach to things, and there is probably no one who can, all in one breath, go through Gloria Steinem, Truman Capote, Vietnam, Spiro Agnew, late night TV talk shows, George Jackson, why he has to be at Kennedy Airport by 11 o'clock, Saul Alinsky, the CIA, and then bring himself back to Gloria Steinem, the way Sahl can.

And have it still make sense.

To Sahl, everything, it seems, is somehow how inextricably woven together.

Much of it, of course, is from his concerts and is material that he has used many times before. It's spontaneous perception and delight.

STATINTL



"The reason Teddy Kennedy hasn't told you where he was is that he doesn't know where he was," Sahl said.

'Operation Head Start'

But not all of the comedian's indictments of the CIA were quite that improbable. At another point, he said, "If your school is suffering from academic inertia, you know, no ROTC buildings have been burned in a while . . . then call the CIA or the FBI and they'll dispatch a boy with a beard and shades, and he'll burn something. It's called Operation Head Start."

But Sahl, who first gained national recognition for his comedic talents when Richard Nixon was making his first run for the presidency, was at his funniest when talking about the president.

Listening to Nixon, he said, is "like listening to the captain of the Titanic."

"Kennedy had lines on his face after three years in office, and Johnson came out after five years looking like Dorian Gray. But to give you an idea of how Nixon applies himself, take a look at him. He looks great. You know: what, me worry? So Alfred E. Nixon is going to Moscow, huh?" He then suggested Nixon might learn Communism to teach to the Lockheed Corp.

Vice President Spiro Agnew, however, doesn't greatly concern him, Sahl said. "Agnew is a bone thrown to the liberals to chew on. But he's the same all the time. He's this administration's Nixon," he said. "I could sleep in the same tent with Agnew. I might keep my eyes open all night long, though."

Russians Getting Ahead

The Vietnam problem is really a simple one, he told the audience. "The generals don't want to get out unless you can give them an alternative. All you have to do is say, 'Pack your bags and go to Israel.' But they're not sure they want to go to Israel. I feel anxious about anti-Semitism in Russia. I don't want the Russians to get ahead of us in that area."

Sahl cautioned the students against using drugs, because they would then become more comfortable. "I don't think any of you should be comfortable. You'll become benign and then you won't change anything. I'm intoxicated just by living during the Nixon years," he said.

At one point, when he was talking about the sexual superiority of blacks, Sahl gave an excellent example of the manner in which associations whirl through his brain.

"That's one of the few racial stereotypes blacks haven't objected to," he said. Then:



Politics The innocence of Gloria Steinem

By MADELEINE PROVINZANO

What a mixture of psychological terms is to be found in Gloria Steinem's article, "The Machismo Factor" which appeared in the New York Times.

She correctly disputes the theory that the Masculine Mystique (man is aggressive and prone to violence, woman is passive and easily led) is the fundamental cause of our "destructiveness" as a nation, "domestic and international."

She refers to the popular talk about masculine and feminine hormones and concludes that the "forces locking us into so-called masculine and feminine roles turn out to be cultural, not

biological." This is all very interesting for living-room discussions. But what does all that psychologizing have to do with the true causes of destructiveness and violence, domestic and international?

Then she declares, "Since World War II and the sanctifying of our overseas interventions, foreign policy has provided the ideal arena for politicians and intellectuals who feel the cultural need to play tough." And it's this kind of thinking, she says, that "locks us into the unnecessary, inhuman gamesmanship of global showdowns."

What kind of global showdowns is she talking about? The global bully, in the eyes of the majority of the world's population, is U.S. imperialism, especially in Indochina.

All this psycholegizing obscures the true source of present-day U.S. foreign policy: U.S. monopoly-capitalism with its ties to the military-industrial corporate complex. It's as if she were trying to take this ruling class off the hook for the war in Indochina, for its aggressions in Korea, Santo Domingo, etc., for its provocative deployment of military bases and naval vessels in far-flung areas of the world, for the secret world of the CIA, etc.

Is this mixture of Steinem phrases purposefully confusing? Certainly her direct acquaintance with certain aspects of U.S. foreign policy in the 1950's gave her a direct knowledge of its workings.

Today Gloria Steinem is one of the better-publicized members of the women's liberation movement. But she first came to pub-

lic notice in 1967 when the newspapers were full of revelations of secret CIA funds and their relation with certain U.S. unions, intellectuals and university and student circles.

As fulltime head of a student group, The Independent Research Service, she was interviewed in the Feb. 2, 1967, issue of the N.Y. Times. Yes, she said in the interview, the organization had received funds from the CIA. Former officers of the National Student Association had told her, she said, that CIA funds might be available for American participation in the Vienna World Youth Festival of 1959 (and later at the Helsinki Youth Festival in 1962).

"Far from being shocked by this involvement," she was quoted, "I was happy to find some liberals in government in those days were farsighted and cared enough to get Americans of all political views to the Festival."

According to her, the Service concentrated on recruiting young persons "with non-Communist foreign-policy views to attend the Festival," although, she added, most of them were unaware of the CIA backing.

It would appear that Gloria Steinem's article, with its psychological mumbo-jumbo, is purposefully unclear. If she was no "babe in the woods" on the workings of the CIA in 1959, then she certainly can't be classified as one today! It is turning the accusing finger away from the direction in which it should be pointed—U.S. monopoly-capitalism and its role in U.S. foreign policy and destructiveness at home and abroad.

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BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN
28 SEPTEMBER 1971

Seeks Shift to "Unofficial Cover"

CIA Fears a Mass Exposure

By Chicago Sun-Times

WASHINGTON -- The Central Intelligence Agency has long feared the type of mass exposure that befell Soviet intelligence in Britain last week, a confidential report disclosed Monday.

The report shows that the CIA has been trying for several years to shift its espionage operations away from U. S. embassies and offices to "unofficial cover" -- private organizations and

businesses and "non-U. S. nationals."

It acknowledges that tough Russian security has forced the CIA to collect intelligence on the Soviet Union through "third-country" operations -- just as the Russians apparently were seeking intelligence on the United States through its spy apparatus in Britain.

THE REPORT, a copy of which has been obtained by The Chicago

Sun-Times, is based on a discussion among several former high-ranking intelligence officials conducted by the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on Jan. 8, 1968.

Richard M. Bissell, former deputy director of the CIA and moderator of the discussion, has confirmed the authenticity of the report, which is headed: "Confidential: Not for publication. Restricted to group members only. Not to be quoted or cited."

THE PARTICIPANTS included Allen Dulles, the late director of the CIA; Robert Amory Jr., former deputy director of the CIA; Eugène Fubini, former assistant secretary of defense in the area of electronic intelligence; Thomas L. Hughes, former director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and Theodore Sorenson, special assistant to President Kennedy.

Although the report does not identify the source of various opinions and comments, Bissell appears to have been the main contributor.

"If the agency is to be effective," the report declares at one point, "it will have to make use of private institutions on an expanding scale... CIA's interface with the rest of the world needs to be better protected."

THE REPORT calls for "deeper cover" and "increased attention to the use of 'cut-cuts'" defined in a footnote as "projects backed by the CIA which cannot be traced back to the CIA."

The report concedes that there are "powerful reasons" for concealing CIA agents within U. S. embassies, principally to provide safe means of communication to Washington.

"Nonetheless," it goes on, "it is possible and desirable, although difficult and time-consuming, to build overseas an apparatus of unofficial cover. This would require the use or creation of private organizations, many of the personnel of which would be non-U. S. nationals, with freer entry into the local society and less implication for the official U. S. posture."

THE REPORT suggested links with U. S. corporations which could make their own lines of communication available to CIA agents.

All 105 of the Russian officials expelled by Britain last Friday were under "official cover," operating out of the Soviet embassy or trade mission. As such they were much more susceptible to British counterintelligence than "unofficial cover" agents such as those suggested in the Bissell

RECORD OF '68 DISCUSSION**The CIA Has "Cover" Problems, Too**

By JAMES DOYLE
Star Staff Writer

Early in 1968 a group including former officials of the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department settled down after dinner at the Harold Pratt House, on New York's Avenue, to discuss some of the CIA's problems.

A record of their conversation shows that the particular concern of the group that night was how to provide a deeper cover for Americans gathering information by using non-governmental organizations as fronts.

The participants were members and guests of the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations, men who seem to direct foreign policy from within and without the government on a permanent basis, and publishers of "Foreign Affairs," the quarterly bible of American diplomacy.

A record of the discussion at the council's headquarters on that evening, Jan. 8, 1968, has been circulated to some newspapers by a group of self-styled radical scholars based in Cambridge.

It portrays with some new details the structure and the style of the American intelligence community. The document is timely in the wake of events last week in London, where 105 members of the Soviet community there, including employees from the Soviet embassy, trade delegation, tourist agency, Moscow Narodny Bank and Aeroflot Airline were uncovered as espionage agents, and banned from the country without replacements.

It was a fear of just such an incident, apparently, that dominated the conversation at Pratt House that night.

The U.S. "employees" whose cover constantly is endangered, the participants felt, are those who work in the American Embassies, trade delegations, and other U.S. agencies in countries around the world.

Richard Bissell, a former deputy director of the CIA who left the agency after the Bay of Pigs debacle, led the discussion. According to the record made available to The Star, he told his council colleagues:

agents "need to operate under deeper cover."

Bissel recounted ruefully the uproar over the CIA's exposed funding of the National Student Association's overseas activities and said, "The CIA interface with various private groups, including business and student groups, must be remedied."

He noted that the problems of American spies overseas "is frequently a problem of the State Department."

"It tends to be true that local allies find themselves dealing always with an American and an official American—since the cover is almost invariably as a U.S. government employee," Bissel is reported to have said. "There are powerful reasons for this practice, and it will always be desirable to have some CIA personnel housed in the embassy compound, if only for local 'command post' and communications requirements."

"Nonetheless, it is possible and desirable, although difficult and time-consuming, to build overseas an apparatus of unofficial cover," Bissel is quoted as saying.

"This would require the use or creation of private organizations, many of the personnel of which would be non-U.S. nationals, with freer entry into the local society and less implication for the official U.S. posture."

Use Non-Americans

Bissel said that the United States needed to increase its use of non-Americans for espionage "with an effort at indoctrination and training: they should be encouraged to develop a second loyalty, more or less comparable to that of the American staff."

He added that as intelligence efforts shifted more toward Latin America, Asia and Africa, "the conduct of U.S. nationals is likely to be increasingly circumscribed. The primary change recommended would be to build up a system of unofficial cover. . . . The CIA might be able to make use of non-nationals as 'career agents,' that is with a status midway between that for the classical agent used in a

and that of a staff member involved through his career in many operations, and well informed of the agency's capabilities."

An unidentified former State Department official responded to Bissel that he agreed with the need to change covers, noting that "the initial agreement between the agency and State was intended to be 'temporary,' but nothing endures like the ephemeral."

Another participant noted that very little attention was paid to revelations of the CIA's use of supposedly independent operations such as "Radio Free Europe," he added, "One might conclude that the public is not likely to be concerned by the penetration of overseas institutions, at least not nearly so much as by the penetration of U.S. institutions."

This participant was quoted as saying, "The public doesn't think it's right; they don't know where it ends; they take a look at their neighbors." Then he was asked whether "this suggested expansion in use of private institutions should include those in the United States, or U.S. institutions operating overseas?"

In response, clear distinctions were reportedly made between operating in the United States and abroad, and the suggestion was made by Bissell, "One might want CIA to expand its use of private U.S. corporations, but for objectives outside the United States."

Fund Demands Rise

The record of the discussion did not link comment and author, but did give a general identification of the men present. There also was a diligent removal from the authorized reporter's transcript of all specific references of agents, incidents and the like, with one noticeable lapse.

In a discussion of the effect of revelations that the CIA was financing U.S. labor union activities abroad, it was noted that these disclosures had simply increased the demand for such funds from overseas labor groups.

"were supported through CIA conduits, but now they ask for more assistance than before. So, our expectations to the contrary, there has been no damage."

Those present and taking part in the discussion included men who have journeyed back and forth between government and corporate work, most of whom have remained near the center of the foreign policy establishment.

They included Bissell, now an executive with United Aircraft Corp. in Hartford, Conn.; former Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon; former CIA director Allen Dulles; Robert Amory Jr., a former deputy director of the CIA; Meyer Bernstein, director of international affairs for the United Steelworkers of America; columnist Joseph Kraft; former White House aide Theodore Sorenson of Kennedy and Johnson days; and Philip Quigg, recently resigned as managing editor of Foreign Affairs.

Facsimile copies of the discussion summary have been circulated by "The Africa Research Group," a dozen young scholars in Cambridge who take a radical dissenting view of U.S. foreign policy.

Reached at his home, Bissell confirmed the authenticity of the document.

He noted that in the discussion that night in New York, he had begun by saying that agent espionage was the least valuable of three main CIA missions, behind reconnaissance and electronic intelligence, the two areas where most CIA money is spent.

ST. LOUIS
POST-DISPATCH

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SEP. 26 1974

Confidential Report Urges More Secrecy In CIA Spying

By RICHARD DUDMAN

Chief Washington
Correspondent of the
Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25.— A confidential report being circulated in Washington and Boston urges that the Central Intelligence Agency improve its secrecy in penetrating private institutions at home and abroad.

The document proposes also that the CIA direct its covert operations particularly at Africa, Asia and Latin America and make wide use of agents other than Americans.

The report is a summary of a panel discussion on intelligence and foreign policy conducted by the Council on Foreign Relations in New York Jan. 8, 1968.

Copies of the document are being circulated in this country and Europe by a group of radical scholars in Cambridge, Mass., as "a still-relevant primer on the theory and practice of the Central Intelligence Agency" and "a fair warning as to the direction of the agency's interests and efforts."

Leader of the 1968 discussion was Richard M. Bissell Jr., a former CIA deputy director who was in charge of the U-2 spy plane program in the late 1950s and the abortive invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. He left the Government in 1962 and is a vice president at United Aircraft Corp.

Others in the group were the late Allen W. Dulles, who had been the CIA director; Robert Amory Jr., who had been the deputy CIA director for intelligence; Thomas L. Hughes, then director of intelligence and research at the Department of State and now president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Meyer Bernstein, director of international affairs for the United Steel Workers.

Other Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon was chairman. The document, reporting Bissell's review and appraisal of the CIA's covert operations,

said: "If the agency is to be effective, it will have to make use of private institutions on an expanding scale, though those relations which have 'blown' cannot be resurrected.

"We need to operate under deeper cover, with increased attention to the use of 'cut-outs.' CIA's interface with the rest of the world needs to be better protected."

Bissell's presentation, as reported in the summary, referred frequently to exposés in the previous year of the CIA's penetration and financing of the National Student Association and other private organizations, including trade union organizations overseas.

If various groups hadn't been aware of the source of their funding, the damage subsequent to disclosure might have been far less than occurred," the summary said.

"The CIA interface with various private groups, including business and student groups, must be remedied."

Other documents, obtained in early 1969 by the Post-Dispatch, showed that the U.S. Agency for International Development had picked up the tab for certain overseas programs that had been financed secretly by the CIA. These became known as "CIA orphans" after the secret financing was disclosed.

The change apparently grew out of a 1967 order by President Lyndon B. Johnson prohibiting any further hidden subsidies to private voluntary organizations. He promised to consider a proposal that the Federal Government establish "a public-private mechanism to provide public funds openly for overseas activities of organizations which are adjudged deserving, in the national interest."

As a result, AID funds have been used to finance in part certain international labor programs handled through . . . the AFL-CIO.

One member of the 1968 panel, not identified but apparently Bernstein, the Steelworkers' officer, was quoted as saying that it was common knowledge even before the exposés of 1967 that there had been labor programs.

Persons in international labor affairs were dismayed, he said, over public disclosure of this CIA support. He said that "certain newspapermen compounded their difficulties by confusing AID with CIA."

The summary continued, quoting the same speaker: "Since these disclosures, the turn of events has been unexpected. First, there hasn't been any real trouble with international labor programs. Indeed, there has been an increase in demand for U.S. labor programs and the strain on our capacity has been embarrassing. Formerly these common labor unions knew we were short of funds, but now they all assume we have secret CIA money, and they ask for more help."

Citing labor union in British Guiana as an example, he said they were "supported through CIA conduits, but now they ask for more assistance than before."

In the summary of Bissell's presentation, the report said the United States should make increasing use persons other than American citizens who "should be encouraged to develop a second loyalty, more or less comparable to that of the American staff."

"The desirability of more effectively using foreign nationals increases as we shift our attention to Latin America, Asia and Africa, where the conduct of United States nationals is easily subject to scrutiny and is likely to be interpreted as unscrupulous," the summary

said.

Bissell was reported to have suggested that the CIA could use foreign nationals increasingly as "career agents," with a status midway between classical agent in a single operation and that of a staff member involved through his career in many operations.

At another point, the account of Bissell's presentation asked the question "From whom is a covert operation to be kept secret?"

"After five days, for example, the U-2 flights were not secret from the Russians, but these operations remained highly secret in the United States and with good reason," the summary said.

"If these overflights had 'leaked' to the American press, the USSR would have been forced to take action."

"On a less severe level, the same problem applies to satellite reconnaissance. These are examples of two hostile governments collaborating to keep operations secret from the general public of both sides. Unfortunately, there aren't enough of these situations!"

Returning to covert financing of private organizations overseas, Bissell said that such pro-

continued

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After 1957 expose
CIA sought
 new ties with
campus, labor

By Crocker Snow Jr.
 Globe Staff

The written report of a confidential discussion about Central Intelligence Agency operations held in 1968, a year after the public controversy over agency involvement with the National Student Assn., shows the CIA was anxious to establish new contacts with other student groups, foundations, universities, labor organizations and corporations for its overseas work.

The discussion was held in January 1968 among ranking government officials and former officials, including several former CIA officers, under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

Though no direct quotes are attributed in the report, the opinion was stated by the discussion leader, Richard M. Bissell Jr., formerly a deputy director of the CIA, that: "If the agency is to be effective, it will have to make use of private institutions on an expanding scale, though these relations which have 'blown' cannot be resurrected."

The discussion also referred to the continued utility of labor groups and American corporations to CIA operations. No such groups or corporations are named.

The written report, like others sponsored by the council, is considered by the participants as "confidential" and "completely off the record."

The document is being circulated by the Africa Research Group, a small, radically oriented organization headquartered in Cambridge, because "it offers a still-relevant primer on the theory and practice of CIA manipulations."

Portions of the document are scheduled to appear today in the "University Review," a New York-based monthly.

The document reflects individual assessments of the CIA by those present. The report includes a number of general statements:

—The two elements of CIA activity, "intelligence collection" and "covert action" (or "intervention") are not separated within the agency but are considered to "overlap and interact."

—The focus of classical espionage in Europe and other developed parts of the world had shifted "toward targets in the underdeveloped world."

—Due to the clear jurisdictional boundary between the CIA and FBI, the intelligence agency was "adverse to surveillance of US citizens overseas (even when specifically requested) and adverse to operating against targets in the United States, except foreigners here as transients."

—The acquisition of a secret speech by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in February 1956 was a classic example of the political use of secretly acquired intelligence. The State Department released the text which, according to one participant, prompted "the beginning of the split in the Communist movement." Since this speech had been specifically targeted before acquired, the results meant to this participant that "if you get a precise target and go after it, you can change history."

—"Penetration," by establishing personal relationships with individuals rather than simply hiring them, was regarded as especially useful in the underdeveloped world. The statement is made that "covert intervention (in the underdeveloped world) is usually designed to operate on the internal power balance, often with a fairly short-term objective."

—The reconnaissance of

during the '50s provided "limited but dramatic results: flights were late, of the cancellations were sum" between Presid hower and [redacted] after Francis G was shot down in Asia.)

"After five flights were from the RU these operation highly secret in States, and with son," reads the these overflight 'leaked' to the press, the US have been forced to take action."

The meeting was not to consider CIA missions so as to characterize ge cepts and proceed discussion was led by a council sitting on "Intelligence and Policy."

The chairman's meeting was

Dillon, an invi banker who had served in Washington as undersecretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury in the Kennedy Administration.

Twenty persons were listed as attending, including prominent former officials and educators like Harry Howe Ransom of Vanderbilt University and David B. Truman, president of Mt. Holyoke College.

In an article in the Saturday Evening Post in May 1967, Thomas Braden, who was director of the CIA, and Robert Amory Jr., who had been deputy director, as well as Bissell, who had been deputy director until shortly after the Bay of Pigs invasion, in which the CIA was involved.

The discussion took place just a year after revelations by Ramparts Magazine concerning CIA-funded training of agents

for South Vietnam at

The document includes the statement that "it is notably true of the subsidies to student, labor and cultural groups that have recently been publicized that the agency's objective was never to control their activities, only occasionally to point them in a particular direction, but primarily to enlarge them and render them more effective."

The list included Allen Dulles, former director of the CIA, and Robert Amory Jr., who had been deputy director, as well as Bissell, who had been deputy director until shortly after the Bay of Pigs invasion, in which the CIA was involved.

The report shows that the publicity had not been as damaging to CIA activi

LINCOLN, NEBR.

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The Lincoln Star

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SPEAKING OUT:

Intrigue, Confusion, Frustration Seen At Annual NSA Congress

By STEVEN LEVINE

On the 28th of August the National Student Association concluded its annual National Student Congress with an all-night plenum, having raised issues over 14 days that it would not be able to lay back down any too easily. I was at Colorado State University to witness some of the festivities. No end, literally, to intrigue, conspiracy, confusion did I find. All that, and some frustration too.

The NSA has spent the many years since its inception in an ongoing identity crisis. It might, for all anyone knows, have been originally conceived as a sort of national forum for the exchange of inter-campus student experience; maybe a student ICC; maybe an organizational tool for joint student activities, foreign study programs and all.

But with the politicization of the university community its evolution tended toward a radically developed national student union of the type that in civilized countries is a decisive body in the formation of government policy. It was this tendency, this vision maybe, that would involve the CIA in the NSA's business, and would underlie NSA politics to date.

The question of what kind of possible leftist power base the 500 member schools comprise remains a basic consideration for the association's politicians. A great deal of effort has gone into the attempt to expand the NSA's actual function, from communication to action, the clear preponderance of that effort is fruitless still.

From an issue standpoint, for at least six years the NSA has been overwhelmingly leftist, adopting the radical stance on questions of racism, sexism and imperialism. By now its positions on the broad considerations are granted. The

future of the student left movement that is the transcendent concern. How the NSA can play a tactical role in the movement.

This year, as usual, a number of radical heavies, Dave Dellinger, John Froines, et al; and non-radical heavies, McGovern et al, were in attendance to lobby for their particular styles of communism. For a week of small group discussions at which they were resource personnel, they went over the issue grounds with the voting delegates. The contention was basically over the question of electoral policies.

The 18-year-old vote was argued convincingly by some to have created a swing-vote power bloc that the NSA should devote its energies to organizing. The leftist contingent, which included the outgoing association leadership, however, was unconvinced on the working-within-the-system score, and plugged for radical activism instead.

NSA President David Ifshin outlined the whole problem in his campus forecast. "There is great interest in electoral politics on campus now, but there's a lot of underground organizing going on too." Got that?

Into Conspiracy

Toward the end of the congress it began to emerge that, come the delegate voting sessions, some parties were going to move the question from persuasion over into conspiracy.

To wit: The rumor got round that former New York Representative Allard Lowenstein had reached a few of the delegates in advance and had a machine at work to turn NSA into a student voting bloc-builder that would give him leverage at the Democratic convention. He was the other candidate. With the help

of loyal insiders he would manipulate a merger of NSA with the more moderate 399 school-associated student governments and have his student Tammany Hall all set to operate. How accurate all these rumors were I cannot exactly say, but there were Lowenstein people there, and they were evidently quite busy.

Be all that as it may, the effect of the rumor was electrifying. Fearing the worst, delegates defeated the ASG merger; made no big endorsement of voter registration campaigns; did not go down for McGovern, etc. They did ratify a student union proposal and they did elect a woman president who fell clearly to the left of compromise. So the NSA did not really change direction. There being more student revolutionaries than ever, it responded more revolutionarily than ever.

Which brings us to the most interesting aspect of the conference process. As a student leftist constituency with certain basic tenets has evolved, so has a concomitant representative power politic. What is so fascinating to watch at such a congress is the politician-like behavior of the participants; the secret caucusing, the midnight canvassings, the shrewd employment of parliamentary procedure, the floor management. Some NSA officials are six-year veterans now. They are well aware of whom they represent and what power there is to be derived from them.

Significantly, this congress

was comparatively free of the moral passion that might have, as had sometimes been the case previously, made it even more chaotic. There were several disruptions, by non-white caucuses and women's caucuses, for instance, that were quickly and neatly coped.

A demand for heavy (\$110,000) funding by black students was rejected in a quantum leap away from the old white student guilt bag. Similarly, though everyone stayed up all night and there was plenty of sex and dope, the playfulness of a lot of earlier meetings was absent. The tiny Yippie delegation held a

wildcat session with an agenda no less, and a serious discussion of tactics. Enforcement of credential requirements was rigid, with little protest from any quarter.

The overwhelming impression of the whole scene was that it was lugubriously businesslike. Despite some of that old "off-the-institution" spirit, attacks on the relevancy of the NSA, per se, there seemed to be a general feeling that what was transpiring at Fort Collins was important.

After years of seemingly unrewarding campus stumping, that student union dream has begun to make some sense. The unresolved question deals with the role awaiting such a union in a greatly modified national political environment. The changes that wrote an end to the spasmodic self-expression of campus confrontationism have been at work in the community at large. A new, sophisticated student polity has its tough times still ahead.

Sept 1971

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STATINTL

E. VLADIMIROV

Imperialist Intelligence and Propaganda

IN OUR DAYS, the role of propaganda and intelligence as major foreign policy instruments of the imperialist states is growing all the time. B. Murty, an American professor, emphasises that the functions of camouflaged ideological coercion and subversion of world law and order are being carried out by means of propaganda.¹ In effect, Murty recognises the close connection between propaganda and intelligence.

The intelligence agencies do not, of course, conduct their propaganda activity openly, but they possess the necessary means to promote ideological subversion abroad and render it more effective. A network of secret agents and paid informers, bribed newspaper and magazine publishers, corrupt politicians and adventurers, to whom the intelligence service assigns the role of "charity workers" and "educationalists"—all this makes it possible for the intelligence service to exercise anonymous control in spreading propaganda and disinformation.

Richard Helms, the head of the CIA, stated in a memorandum to the government, that the psychological warfare must be placed fully under the control of the US intelligence service. Psychological warfare, he stressed, is a sphere of government activity which must be dealt with only by professionals acting in secret. An American professor, Ransom, who for a long time took part in the military research programme of Harvard University, holds that the role of the CIA in undertaking political and psychological subversive acts has increased so much that it has become a major instrument of political war, and has far exceeded the functions determined by the law on the establishment of the CIA.²

Some bourgeois scholars call this process "politicising" the intelligence service. "The

agent influencing political affairs abroad is becoming a central figure," wrote Bergh, a West German expert on intelligence.³

In this way, a kind of an organisationally independent sphere of so-called unofficial propaganda is forming. In the opinion of Western specialists and politicians, this type of propaganda has a number of advantages over the official one. A report "The American Image Abroad", submitted to the American Senate in 1968 by the Republican Coordinating Committee, stresses that the material being spread by non-governmental agencies is accepted in foreign countries with greater trust than that put out by the government. In view of this, the committee recommended the government to encourage by every possible means the American organisations issuing information and propaganda material for foreign countries.

A vivid example of the kind of unofficial propaganda directed against the USSR and other socialist countries is the activity of Radio Free Europe, officially an independent organisation, but virtually controlled by the US authorities.

Speaking in the US Senate in January 1971, Senator C. Case said that 1,642 employees of Free Europe and about 1,500 professional workers of the Liberty radio station were maintained by the CIA. These subversive centres make use of 49 transmitters bought with CIA money. The American intelligence service expends annually over \$30 million on these radio saboteurs. Hundreds of millions of dollars have travelled from the US state treasury to the accounts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for over 20 years. As for the assertions that they are financed from "private donations", it transpires that these donations do not even cover advertising expenses on appeals to the American public for money.

The US intelligence agencies secretly subsi-

¹ See B. Murty, *Propaganda and World Public Order. The Legal Regulation of the Ideological Instrument of Coercion*, New Haven—London, 1968, p. 11.

² See H. Ransom, *The Intelligence Establishment*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1970, pp. 94, 239.

³ H. Bergh, *ABC der Spione*, Pfaffenhausen, 1965, p. 83.

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September

A CIA Paper

"...Although this entire series of discussions was "off the record", the subject of discussion for this particular meeting was especially sensitive and subject to the previously announced restrictions."

—C. Douglas Dillon

By The Africa Research Group

The Central Intelligence Agency is one of the few governmental agencies whose public image has actually improved as a result of the publication of the Pentagon Papers. Despite disclosures of "The Agency's" role in assassinations, sabotage, and coup d'etats consciously intended to subvert international law, America's secret agency has actually emerged in some quarters with the veneration due prophets, or at least the respect due its suggested efficiency and accuracy.

Virtually every newspaper editor, not to mention Daniel Ellsberg himself, has heaped praise on the CIA for the accuracy of its estimates detailing the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. Time and again, the Agency's "level headed professionalism" has been contrasted with the escalation-overkill orientation of the Pentagon or the President's advisors. The editor of the Christian Science Monitor even called upon policy makers to consult the CIA more, calling it a "remarkably accurate source of information." But such backhanded praise for conspirators confuses public understanding of the important and closely integrated role which the CIA plays in advancing the Pax Americana on a global scale.

For many, the Pentagon Papers provided a first peck into the inner sanctum of foreign policy making. As the government's attempt to suppress the study illustrates, the people are not supposed to have access to the real plans of their government. On close inspection, what emerges is not an "invisible government" but an indivisible system in which each agency offers its own specialized input, and is delegated its own slice of responsibility. Coordinated inter-departmental agencies work out the division of imperial labor. There are disagree-

rivalries, to be sure, but once the decisions are reached at the top they are carried out with the monolithic tone of state power.

The intelligence community now plays an expanded and critical role in creating and administering the real stuff of American foreign policy. CIA Director Richard Helms presides over a U.S. Intelligence Board which links the secret services of all government agencies, including the FBI. In the White House, Henry Kissinger presides over an expanded National Security Council structure which further centralizes covert foreign policy planning. It is here that the contingency plans are cooked up and the "options" so carefully worked out. It is in these closed chambers, and strangelovian "situation rooms" that plans affecting the lives of millions are formulated for subsequent execution by a myriad of U.S. controlled agencies and agents.

Increasingly, these schemes rely on covert tactics whose full meaning is seldom perceived by the people affected — be they Americans or people of foreign countries. The old empires, with their colonial administrators and civilizing mission have given way to the more subtle craftsman of intervention. Their manipulations take place in the front rooms of neo-colonial institutions and the parlors of dependent third world elites. In this world of realpolitik, appearances are often purposely deceptive and political stances intentionally misleading. The U.S. aggression in Vietnam, lest anyone forget, began as a covert involvement largely engineered by the CIA. Similar covert interventions now underway elsewhere in the world may be fueling tomorrow's Vietnams.

It is for this reason that the Africa Research Group, an independent radical research collective, is now making public major excerpts from a document which offers an informed insider's view of the secret workings of the American intelligence apparatus abroad. Never intended for publication, it was made available to the Group which will pub-

CIA manipulations.

Richard Bissell, the man who led the Council discussion that night, was well equipped to talk about the CIA. A one-time Yale professor and currently an executive of the United Aircraft Corporation, Bissell served as the CIA's Deputy Director until he "resigned" in the wake of the abortive 1961 invasion of Cuba. The blue-ribbon group to which he spoke included a number of intelligence experts including Robert Amory, Jr., another former Deputy Director, and the late CIA chief, Allen Dulles, long considered the grand old man of American espionage. Their presence was important enough an occasion for international banker Douglas Dillon to

*The complete text of the document will be available for \$1 in late October from Africa Research Group, P.O. Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Everybody's Plumping for a Slice of the Youth Pie

A Commentary

By Nicholas von Hoffman

FORT COLLINS, Colo.—The world at large has never let the National Student Association alone to play its games. In the old days the CIA infiltrated it and used the country's student organization for its own secret purposes. But this year, although the CIA is long since exposed and driven out, the outside world was still present at NSA's annual conference here.

It was inescapable, for this is the year of the 18-year-old vote and the pols are on the prowl trying to figure out how to cop it. So, there were Muskie people, and Bayh people, and McCarthy people, and Socialist Party people, all kinds of them sniffing, probing, trying out and hoping to set up a national network to capture this electoral mother lode.

It wasn't just the politicians; every cause sees these young people as is means of triumph. Ergo, the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition came and set up a booth, as did the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Vietnam Vets Against the War, and even Amorphia, Inc., an organization that has copyrighted the name "Acapulco Gold" for its cigarette papers. All profits from their sale are to be used to help the fight to legalize marijuana, said Mike, the official freak representative, who added that the papers are actually manufactured from weed but are legal because they won't get you high.

There was little, if any, dope smoking at the conference, which ran all of last week. Not much juicing, either. It may be that the 500 or 600 delegates from schools everywhere felt that too much is pressing down on them; they may sense that The Great Party Is Over.

Certainly they were torn and aggravated by enough issues: an appeal by the French National Student Union to make common cause with them against the trials of the deposed Czechoslovakian leaders, a cry for help from the politically stricken students of Brazil; an invitation to line up with Israel against the Arabs, or vice versa; a demand by Gay Lib that they join in overthrowing heterosexuality and imperialism.

So much, so many questions and causes that the youth world had almost playfully collected over the past few years have now come boomeranging in, demanding sober action. But of them all, the most important was whether and how to take part in next year's electoral politics, as the NSAsers phrase it.

For many this isn't easy to decide. "It's a question of their identity," explained a young man from Berkeley who's trying to set up a national student lobby in Washington. He comes out of an experience where students have taken part and almost taken over the local government, so he's for participation, but he said, "They always ask you, 'If we go into electoral politics, what makes us any different from a liberal? How are they going to tell us from the liberals?'"

Nor are the misgivings the purely insubstantial ones of radical mystique. Even students who have taken part successfully aren't sure. One such is 26-year-old Paul Soglin, a law student at the University of Wisconsin.

Paul is in his second term as city councilman in Madison. When first elected, he was regarded as some kind of unspeakably filthy menace, but now he's president pro-tem of the City Council.

An old NSAer, he came to the NSA congress to renew political acquaintances. "This 18-year-old vote has got me scared," he remarked. "The last time I ran for City Council they put up a 21-year-old girl against me because they said she could relate to youth better."

But Paul also wonders about what he's doing: "When you're in office, you see things differently. You know you're going to have to explain what is happening on the streets to the other members of the council. You have to fight off the tendency to go to your own people and ask them not to do it. I don't know. I think we've done some good things, but I also know we can't do anything about the important issues, the ones having to do with economics."

The NSA congress also had to contend with the tug of doing it the old way: the marches, the demonstrations and the disruptions. Dave Dellinger and John Froines, two of the Chicago conspirators, were here to urge another big Washington uproar this fall.

Dellinger was his perennial, pugnaciously passive self, a quiet, unbudgeable man who does like it if a friend remembers to bring him a really smokeable cigar. Froines has changed from the straightly tight young chemistry professor that the government unaccountably looped into the most famous trial of the age. He's put on weight and gotten so expansively lovable that people seek him out just to talk to him. He's become the radical who can laugh at himself: "The other day a woman asked *what do I do?* I told her I'm a professional political prisoner."

On Thursday, Sen. George McGovern, (D-S.D.) came to talk to the students. Froines stood at the edge of the crowd, chuckled and said, "You know the Chicago Eight (counting Bobby Seale) have great political power. We can defeat any candidate merely by endorsing him."

He didn't say if he was going to do McGovern that favor. He needn't have bothered because one of the senator's most famous supporters was killing off his own man. George Wald, the antiwar nobel-laureate scientist, introduced McGovern with a fanfare of liberal ineffectuality: "I'd rather lose with a good man than with a bad one."

McGovern recovered. He's better in person than on television, warmer, more powerful and less namby-pamby sounding. A few of the students seemed by their questioning to want to show that even McGovern, the candidate with the left reputation, is a sellout. They failed. The senator held his own and came off a winner when they hit him with Daniel Ellsberg's accusation that he'd offered the Pentagon papers to McGovern, who'd turned them down.

Ellsberg is big here. Few of the students appreciate how strange this man is, what's fought so hard on both sides of the war, or how you could say of him that if Albert Speer were an American, he'd be Daniel Ellsberg. McGovern hinted at something like that when

NSA congress feels its way

U.S. students wary of political activism

STATINTL

By Tracy Rubin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Fort Collins, Colo.

United States student bodies are groping for new directions in the wake of the 18-year-old right to vote and disenchantment with politics in the streets. The struggle has been acted out in Byzantine parliamentary maneuverings here at the 24th congress of the National Student Association.

Despite the omnipresent awareness of the power of the 18-year-old vote, a sizable number of delegates to the NSA conference are wary of being labeled as completely preoccupied with electoral politics.

Merger plan defeated

At a midweek plenary session, more than the necessary one-third voted to defeat a proposed merger with the Associated Student Governments, a more conservative student group based on schools that withdrew from NSA in 1964.

Supporters of the proposed merger, which would have brought the combined full membership to nearly 800 campuses, argued the crucial importance of the coming school year because of the student vote and the upcoming presidential election:

"If you can . . . add to your available tactics electoral politics, you should vote for us," urged Duane Draper, of the University of Oklahoma, president of the ASG.

Grass roots stressed

But Charles Palmer, a former NSA president, now working in the New Haven mayoral race while attending Yale Law School, stressed the opposition argument in a voter-registration workshop: "In the euphoria the passage of the 26th Amendment (18-year-old vote), some have forgotten that other programs exist. It's important to see that this (electoral politics) is only one tool."

He added, "The greatest short-run impact is not in presidential elections but in getting into local institutions like school boards,

and municipalities, and showing how unresponsive they are."

The merger proposal originally passed by a two-thirds margin reflecting very real interest among the majority of delegates in form of electoral politics. But before the voting procedure was officially closed it was halted by a relatively mild take-over of the stage by "third world" students demanding funds from NSA.

When the plenary resumed heavy lobbying by opponents of the merger changed enough votes to defeat it.

The arguments used to defeat the merger—which were carried on with immense passion—reflect current turmoil in NSA caused by the prospect of power.

Right take-over concern

In the midst of an uncertain period for the student movement, many delegates feared the merger was a take-over from the Right. The ASG in past years has received open endorsement of the Nixon administration. Its delegates, at their last convention repudiated the spring antiwar plans of NSA, and the People's Peace Treaty which NSA members had "negotiated" with North and South Vietnamese students.

However, ASG president Duane Draper insists that his organization has grown more liberal, pointing to their public criticism of the Nixon administration in March, after meeting with government officials, and to his visit to South Vietnam in July with a group of American students who expressed solidarity with antiwar Saigon students.

CIA plot rumored

Opponents disputed Mr. Draper's insistence that the merger was aimed solely at widening the base of the student organization to multiply the impact of the student vote. More radical students muttered of a Central Intelligence Agency plot to take over the NSA. After the defeat, Mr. Draper complained angrily, "They've thrown away the chance to substantially affect the 1972 elections." ✓

Complicating the issue was an attempt by many merger supporters to combine it with a link to a National Student Lobby, now be-

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On the
Issues

CIA: CONGRESS IN DARK ABOUT ACTIVITIES, SPENDING

Since the Central Intelligence Agency was given authority in 1949 to operate without normal legislative oversight, an uneasy tension has existed between an uninformed Congress and an uninformative CIA.

In the last two decades nearly 200 bills aimed at making the CIA more accountable to the legislative branch have been introduced. Two such bills have been reported from committee. None has been adopted.

The push is on again. Some members of Congress are insisting they should know more about the CIA and about what the CIA knows. The clandestine military operations in Laos run by the CIA appear to be this year's impetus.

Sen. Stuart Symington (D Mo.), a member of the Armed Services Intelligence Operations Subcommittee and chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee dealing with U.S. commitments abroad, briefed the Senate June 7 behind closed doors on how deeply the CIA was involved in the Laotian turmoil. He based his briefing on a staff report. (*Weekly Report* p. 1709, 1660, 1268)

He told the Senate in that closed session: "In all my committees there is no real knowledge of what is going on in Laos. We do not know the cost of the bombing. We do not know about the people we maintain there. It is a secret war."

As a member of two key subcommittees dealing with the activities of the CIA, Symington should be privy to more classified information about the agency than most other members of Congress. But Symington told the Senate he had to dispatch two committee staff members to Laos in order to find out what the CIA was doing.

If Symington does not know what the CIA has been doing, then what kind of oversight function does Congress exercise over the super-secret organization? (*Secrecy fact sheet*, *Weekly Report* p. 1785)

A Congressional Quarterly examination of the oversight system exercised by the legislative branch, a study of sanitized secret documents relating to the CIA and interviews with key staff members and members of Congress indicated that the real power to gain knowledge about CIA activities and expenditures rests in the hands of four powerful committee chairmen and several key members of their committees—Senate and House Armed Services and Appropriations Committees.

The extent to which these men exercise their power in ferreting out the details of what the CIA does with its secret appropriation determines the quality of legislative oversight on this executive agency that Congress voted into existence 24 years ago.

The CIA Answers to...

As established by the National Security Act of 1947 (PL 80-253), the Central Intelligence Agency was accountable to the President and the National Security

Council. In the original Act there was no language which excluded the agency from scrutiny by Congress, but also no provision which required such examination.

To clear up any confusion as to the legislative intent of the 1947 law, Congress passed the 1949 Central Intelligence Act (PL 81-110) which exempted the CIA from all federal laws requiring disclosure of the "functions, names, official titles, salaries or numbers of personnel" employed by the agency. The law gave the CIA director power to spend money "without regard to the provisions of law and regulations relating to the expenditure of government funds." Since the CIA became a functioning organization in 1949, its budgeted funds have been submerged into the general accounts of other government agencies, hidden from the scrutiny of the public and all but a select group of ranking members of Congress. (*Congress and the Nation Vol. I*, p. 306, 249)

THE SENATE

In the Senate, the system by which committees check on CIA activities and budget requests is straightforward. Nine men—on two committees—hold positions of seniority which allow them to participate in the regular annual legislative oversight function. Other committees are briefed by the CIA, but only on topical matters and not on a regular basis.

Appropriations. William W. Woodruff, counsel for the Senate Appropriations Committee and the only staff man for the oversight subcommittee, explained that when the CIA comes before the five-man subcommittee, more is discussed than just the CIA's budget.

"We look to the CIA for the best intelligence on the Defense Department budget that you can get," Woodruff told Congressional Quarterly. He said that CIA Director Richard Helms provided the subcommittee with his estimate of budget needs for all government intelligence operations.

Woodruff explained that although the oversight subcommittee was responsible for reviewing the CIA budget, any substantive legislation dealing with the agency would originate in the Armed Services Committee, not Appropriations.

No transcripts are kept when the CIA representative (usually Helms) testifies before the subcommittee. Woodruff said the material covered in the hearings was so highly classified that any transcripts would have to be kept under armed guard 24 hours a day. Woodruff does take detailed notes on the sessions, however, which are held for him by the CIA. "All I have to do is call," he said, "and they're on my desk in an hour."

Armed Services. "The CIA budget itself does not legally require any review by Congress," said T. Edward Braswell, chief counsel for the Senate Armed Services Committee and the only staff man used by the Intelligence Operations Subcommittee.

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STATINTL

GLORIA STEINEM

A Liberated Woman Despite Beauty, Chic and Success

At first glance, Gloria Steinem could pass for what one women's liberationist has called the stereotype of "the Eternal Feminine . . . the Sexual Object sought by all men, and by all women." In hip-hugging raspberry Levis, 2-inch wedgies and tight poor-boy T-shirt, her long, blond-streaked hair falling just so above each breast and her cheerleader-pretty face made wiser by the addition of blue-tinted glasses, she is a chic apotheosis of with-it cool. Her cheekbones are broad and high, her teeth white and even; the fingernails on her tapered hands are as long and carefully tended as a tong chief's and any old swatch of cloth rides like a midsummer night's dream on what one woman friend calls her "most incredibly perfect body."

In normal times, Steinem brings these dazzling physical gifts to a trade-journalism—where they are at best irrelevant and at worst a little out of place, like a harp on a cross-town bus. She is a regular political columnist for the trendy Eastern magazine New York, and most of the larger slick magazines have published her stuff and would like to publish a lot more. But for the past year, she has been roving the country to raise money and consciousness for the still amorphous and revolutionary state of mind called the Women's Liberation Movement, speaking in pithy anger ("If men could get pregnant, abortion would be a sacrament") to college girls and welfare mothers, to young revolutionaries and however many tailored suburbanites will turn out to listen.

Out front, within a remarkably short time, Steinem has become the movement's most sought-after spokesman, its best fund-raiser, its prime missionary to the heathen and its most disarming public-relations prop. In the back room, she is its leading mediator, speechwriter and ecumenicist. She is one of the leaders—along with Congresswomen Shirley Chisholm and Bella Abzug and the National Organization for Women's founder, Betty Friedan—of the newly formed National Women's Political Caucus (NEWSWEEK, July 26), which seeks to make women and women's issues a full partner in every step of the American political process, from ward heelings to voting inattentive politicians out of office.

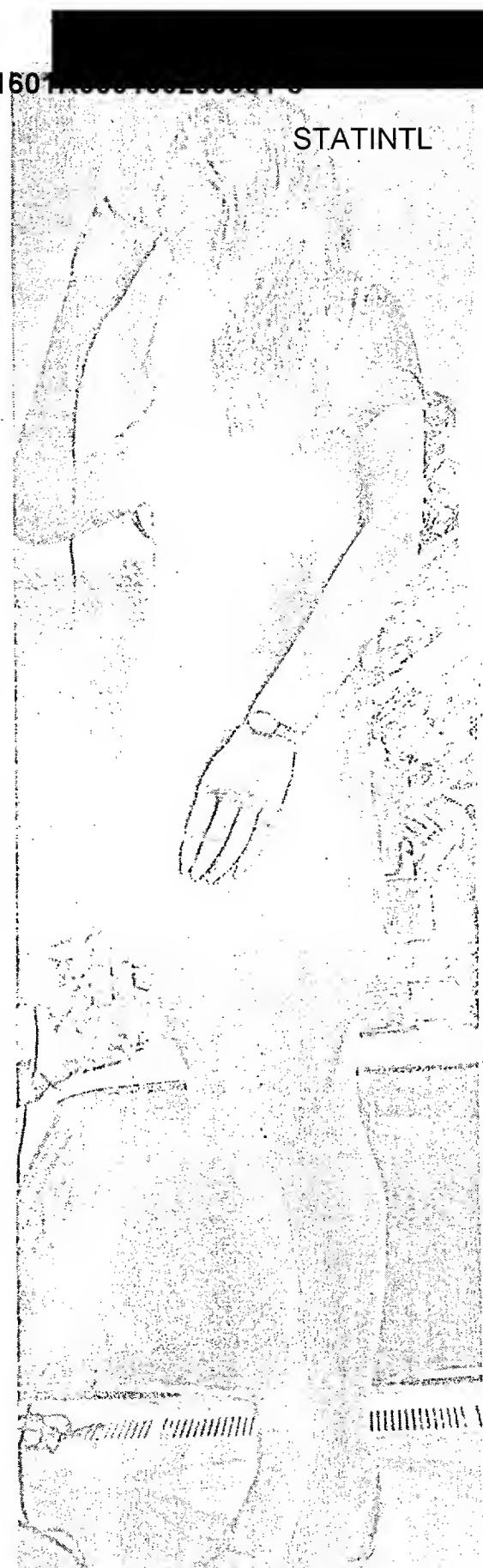
And where her public and private life overlap, Steinem is an ad hoc Best Friend to American Womanhood at large, talking in the flesh and by phone to dozens of women every week about the myriad problems and infuriations of living their lives and doing their jobs as serfs (she prefers the term "servants")

a male-ruled society. "It's been like getting a message from Gandhi," says Liz Smith, an already successful free-lance journalist who was converted in the course of preparing a magazine piece on Steinem a year and a half ago. "She has the dedication, the ability to point you in the direction you should be going. Gloria has all the irritating qualities of a saint—she is a rebuke."

What gets nearly everyone about Steinem as Liberationist is that she Didn't Have To. One of the basic assumptions from outside that has cursed the movement since its inception (a time dating roughly from the publication of Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique" in 1963) is that those who reject woman's traditional role must be losers who cannot play the game according to conventional rules and so seek to change the game. Steinem, on the other hand, is to all appearances a Winner and a Beautiful Person, too. At 35, she has danced at all the best discothèques, traveled to four continents and turned down most of the best TV talk-shows. Not least, Steinem has rejoiced in presumably meaningful relationships—though only one at a time—with director Mike Nichols, track star Rafer Johnson, playwright Herb Sargent and a few other superworthies; extra suitors pile up outside her door like half-cords of hickory, and eminences from John Kenneth Galbraith to Sen. George McGovern to Cesar Chavez are proud to call her friend. It is an exciting and high-flying life, and her political voice has given it soul. "Now I feel I'm doing something nobody else can do," she says. "If someone else can do it, then it's not for me. In so much of what women do—being a secretary, doing the housework—you are always made to feel like an interchangeable moving part."

Sexist World With Sexist Values

The women's movement and the world outside it sometimes have a little trouble believing in Steinem's sense of commitment. Bewildered cavaliers like David Susskind (on whose show she has often appeared) continue to shake their heads and rattle the incantation, "What Gloria needs is a man." Roundheads inside the movement grapple with more tangible problems. Some few women (like some few blacks) have always been able to combine good head, good heart, good body and good connections to make their mark in a white male-defined society, but those are precisely the gifted, blessed few whom the movement is most suspi-



Ken Regan—Camera 5

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continued

HE'S BETTING HIS FUTURE

STATINTL

Is The CIA Unconstitutional? Bill Richardson Says It's Out Of Bounds

By TOM WERTZ

Tribune-Review Staff Writer

When the federal government tells you it spends 100 million dollars each year on agricultural research, it may, in fact, be spending only 50 million.

When it says it receives and expends 80 million dollars to study the impact of foreign imports on the American market, it may be spending only 45 million on that project.

When it says that the total educational budget for the year 1970 was 30 billion dollars, the actual money expended for educational purposes may have been two billion short of that amount.

Where's the other money going? Some of it, or all of it, is going to support the super-secret Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) which carries out classified, clandestine projects all over the world in the name of national security.

But just how much money is expended, from which regular government agency the money is taken, and the nature and scope of secret work it supports, no one outside of the very tight inner circle of government really knows.

Intricate System

The CIA is the only United States government agency which is immune by Congressional statute from making a public accounting of how it gets or spends public tax money. The secrecy of its receipts and expenditures is maintained through a very intricate system of federal budgeting wherein the budgets of hundreds of unrelated federal agencies — ranging from agriculture to medical research — are purposely inflated to hide, perhaps, billions of dollars diverted to the CIA by manipulations within the government's Budget Bureau.

While dozens of books and articles — some factual, some combinations of fact and fiction — have been written in recent years about the functions of the CIA and its role in a free society, only one individual questioning the CIA's unaccountability and its purpose in America has seen fit to challenge its existence legally, through the courts, in what may become one of the most controversial Constitutional law issues in modern America.

The man is William B. Richardson, a 52-year-old Greensburg resident, student of Constitutional law, husband, father of three, a southerner by birth, former government employee and former insurance manager who presently makes a living by investigating cases for the Westmoreland County Public Defender's Office.

Massive Fraud

Richardson believes firmly that the unaccounted for, secret maintenance of a clandestine agency, such as the CIA, violates the United States Constitution in a number of respects and reduces the government to a deliberate perpetration of a massive fraud against the American people.

In 1967, Richardson, then a claims manager for an insurance company, put his personal success on the block, so to speak, and filed suit against the government in an attempt to force the U.S. Treasury Department to stop publication of what he regarded as a fraudulent accounting of public spending because the government admittedly did not list all the money it spent and, moreover, purposely distorted accounts of all listed expenditures to hide from the public what it allocates to the CIA.

Specifically, Richardson claims it violates Article I, Section 9, Clause 7 of the United States Constitution which states clearly that . . . No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time."

The Merits...

Since 1967, he has been to the United States District Court, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, and the United States Supreme Court, and is now in the process of going through the court system for a second time after being turned down each step of the way on procedural matters relating to court jurisdiction and like issues. At no time have the courts, as yet, reached a decision on what lawyers call "the merits" of the case, i.e., whether the CIA funding method violates the Constitution.

Richardson's case is currently presented before the Third Circuit Court

of Appeals which is expected to decide any day now whether the case is of such consequence Constitutionally to warrant a full hearing on the merits by a three-judge panel. If the case gets to the point of discussing merits, he said, the court will have no choice but to declare the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949 unconstitutional. It is through that Congressional act that the government manipulates the budget to allow for secret spending.

What motivates Richardson? And what is his overriding concern on CIA spending?

With only traces of his southern accent showing here and there, Richardson made it clear that he is both repulsed and frightened by what the CIA is purportedly doing with public money.

Inherently Wrong

"I feel it's inherently wrong and the reasons are obvious", he said. "It's one thing to hide funds used in international efforts to accumulate power . . . but it's quite another thing to use hidden funds to try to direct the thinking of your own people."

And that, he said, is what the CIA appears to be doing.

Richardson said his concern reached the point of alarm and a determination to initiate a challenge when it was disclosed a few years ago by the New York Times and Ramparts magazine that the CIA was underwriting hundreds of "conduits" throughout the United States, among them the National Student Association, in an effort to control public thinking.

"I never in my life had any idea they were operating in the zone of interior" (meaning within the United States and its possessions), he said.

He said he believes that, if unchecked, an organization like the CIA, with unlimited funds, undefined goals, turned down each step of the way on acting as a para-military agency in

continued

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Daily Worker

By GEORGE KORRIS

An old yellowed pamphlet

"In the main, the officialdom of the American trade union movement functions brazenly and aggressively as an agency of American imperialism at its worst. Our labor leaders are, with too few exceptions, primarily serving as labor lieutenants of American imperialism in the ranks of the organized and unorganized workers. On the whole, these trade union officials react swiftly and decisively to the needs and demands of the Yankee imperialists."

Guess who wrote the above. Or the following:

"Everyone knows that the whole policy of the American Federation of Labor officialdom in inspiring and making possible the organization of the so-called Pan-American Federation of Labor was largely a game calculated to help hoodwink and mislead the working masses of the Latin-American countries so as to paralyze and stifle their possibilities and capacities to resist the plans of Wall Street for imperialist domination and exploitation of these territories."

And the same person, referring to the AFL leadership's opposition to a delegation of non-Communist labor leaders to the USSR, wrote: "reactionaries feel that such a delegation is dangerous to their campaign of slander and vilification of the Soviet Union." So the "most corrupt forces of the trade union officialdom were mobilized by them to crush the plan to send this American delegation." The writer further observed that "too often it is true that our American labor leaders pursue a policy far more reactionary than that pursued by some groups of powerful capitalists."

The above is from a pamphlet "The Labor Lieutenants of American Imperialism," published 45 years ago by the Daily Worker. I went in search for this 14-page yellowed pamphlet on receipt of a new pamphlet, a product of the same man, published by the AFL-CIO, entitled "Who is the Imperialist?"

The pamphlet, writes the director, is a history of "30 years of Communist territorial expansion as contrasted with the efforts of the free world to implement the principles of self-determination and nations."

The director of the AFL-CIO's international affairs, as our read-


**THE LABOR LIEUTENANTS
OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM**

JAY LOVESTONE

author of the above-quoted 1928 pamphlet was Jay Lovestone.

Today, as for at least 40 years, it is Lovestone who is in the service of the "labor lieutenants of American imperialism." He has been the "CIA's man in labor" since the agency was set up after World War II.

Forty-five years ago Lovestone denounced AFL service to imperialism in Latin-America. But that operation was a very small one compared to the CIA cover operated by Lovestone's department called "American Institute for Free Labor Development," financed by the government to the tune of almost \$3 million annually.

Today it is Lovestone that pressures the State Department to bar U.S. labor contacts with Soviet trade unionists, as it did in 1957.

In face of the extreme hawk position of the group of labor officials Lovestone now serves, few can dispute his 1928 observation that some labor officials are "far more reactionary" than some capitalists.

It is precisely because the tide of opposition is running so strongly against the Meany-Lovestone operation that they reactivated their old red-baiting yarns about "Soviet imperialism" and issued

the scurrilous pamphlet. It was certainly timed to "balance" the Pentagon Papers exposure of the most brazen imperialist conspiracy in modern times — a conspiracy in which the Meany-Lovestone clique were partners.

Thomas W. Braden, now a columnist, in 1959-63 was assistant to CIA director Allan Dulles. He also went in search for an old "creased yellowed" piece of paper, as he described it. In an article in the May 29, 1957, Saturday Evening Post magazine entitled, "I Am Glad the CIA is Immoral," Braden defended the CIA even as a scandal raged over disclosure that the CIA set up a gigantic network of phony foundations, or used existing institutions, as conduits for financing student, union and cultural organizations as covers for CIA operations in many areas abroad.

That yellowed piece of paper Braden described was a receipt from Irving Brown, Lovestone's traveling agent, for \$15,000 "from the vaults of the CIA" given him by Braden "to pay off strong arm squads in Mediterranean ports" who broke Communist-led strikes.

"Into the crisis stepped Lovestone and his assistant, Irving Brown," wrote Braden. "With funds from Dubinsky's union, they organized Force Ouvrière, a non-Communist union. When they ran out of money, they appealed to the CIA. Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions which soon spread to Italy."

Braden said the CIA knew Lovestone was spending "nearly two million dollars annually," and went to his superiors in the AFL (presumably George Meany, David Dubinsky and the late Matthew Woll) for some accounting. But he was simply told "Lovestone and his bunch are doing a good job."

Lovestone, wrote Braden, "had an enormous grasp of foreign-intelligence operations."

Look who's calling the USSR "imperialist"!

STATINTL

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The CIA looks good in Pentagon papers

By PAUL W. BLACKSTOCK

Ever since the Bay of Pigs fiasco in April, 1961, the Central Intelligence Agency has had a bad press in this country and abroad. The 1967 "revelations" that the agency had secretly financed the National Student Association, plus a number of university-affiliated research institutes and anti-Communist cultural fronts, came as a shock to both students and the public.

Professor Blackstock, a former military-intelligence research analyst and author of several books on the intelligence process, now teaches at the University of South Carolina.

As the United States became bogged down in the Vietnam quagmire and the student anti-war protest gathered momentum; the CIA became a favorite target of abuse. Agency recruiters were driven from college campuses. CIA-financed study centers were "trashed" at a cost of many thousands of dollars. New Left orators, armed with a sense of outrage and an encyclopedic ignorance of the intelligence community and its functions, instinctively assumed that the CIA was a major factor in the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

But the Pentagon study of the war, recently published by the New York Times proves conclusively that the Don Quixotes of the New Left have been charging at the wrong windmill. For many years and at critical stages of the escalation, the CIA and other members of the intelligence community, especially the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research repeatedly warned against the hazards involved, including flat predictions that the strategic bombing of North Vietnam would fail to accomplish its objectives.

Deceived Themselves

How these estimates and warnings were ignored by top policy-makers as they carried out their deliberate and "immaculate deception" of the American public is one of the more fascinating aspects of the Pentagon papers. But, in deceiving the public, the decision-makers also deceived themselves, and eventually came to believe optimistic "military progress" reports, released to the public as based on the "latest intelligence," when in fact at the highest level, the estimates

Harold Wilson, when appointed shadow Foreign Secretary, rushed to Washington to assure President Kennedy that Labor would stand four-square behind the U.S. in the Far East. There is no evidence that he subjected American intentions to any very close scrutiny. He recognized a fellow Boy Scout when he saw one, and did not scruple to borrow the Kennedy overblown rhetoric in explaining to doubting colleagues the nature of Britain's East of Suez peace-keeping mission.

job" briefings in Saigon, deceived only those officials, either civilian or military, who wanted to believe them.

What is the "intelligence community"? How is it organized and what role should it play in decision-making at the national level in such foreign entanglements as the war in Vietnam? The answers to these questions have been cloaked in secrecy when they should be a matter of public knowledge.

To begin with the basic institutions, the U.S. intelligence community is made up of the separate agencies of such key government departments as State and Defense, the National Security Agency, and the CIA, which has the overall responsibility for "coordinating, evaluating, and disseminating intelligence affecting the national security."

First Line Of Defense

It has often been said that "intelligence is the first line of national defense." Most citizens are vaguely aware that foreign policy and military decisions are made by the President with the advice of his secretaries of State and Defense, based, in theory at least, on the best information available to experts throughout the government. The collection, evaluation and dissemination of such information is one of the primary functions of intelligence.

But in foreign and military affairs, strategic decisions should also take into account careful estimates of the capabilities and probable courses of action of friends, allies, neutrals and "enemies." The production of such national estimates is a second major function of the entire intelligence community, although the board of estimates in the CIA coordinates the individual agency contributions and disseminates the final results.

As a rule, the various intelligence agencies are staffed on the working level by thousands of anonymous civil servants whose duties are seldom equaled elsewhere in either government or private enterprise.

Many of the men on the CIA's Board of National Estimates and its staff have more than two decades of intelligence experience. Better than 90 per cent of the officials on this top echelon have advanced academic degrees in history, political science, or economics directly pertinent to their work. About 75 per cent have enhanced their area and subject knowledge by living overseas. The estimators in State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research are equally competent and well-qualified.

Advice To President

On the national level daily and weekly reports are promptly distributed to the President and his chief advisers, and special estimates or briefings are made as required in response to developing crises. In short, the intelligence community provides the decision-maker with carefully evaluated information and estimates which he can either use for guidance or disregard.

History is full of illustrations how national leaders have ignored the estimates of the intelligence agencies with disastrous results. Napoleon's intelligence aide, the Marquis de Caulaincourt, explained why, for obvious strategic reasons, the planned invasion of Russia would fail. His advice was ignored.

A century later, Adolf Hitler's ambassador in Russia, Count Brockdorff-Reutzau, used the same reasoning in his estimate of why Hitler's plan would fail. His warning was also ignored and Hitler launched his invasion, which was widely heralded as the final showdown in his lifelong crusade against world communism. The campaign ultimately floundered in a sea of blood—20 million Russian casualties alone, not to mention German losses which also ran into the millions.

Nothing quite as dramatic has hap-

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Continued

20 May 1971

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CIA Operates at

By Bill Evers

It used to be generally thought that the leading institutions of American society had separate proper spheres of activity. The tradition of separation of church and state and the conflict between town and gown were aspects of this institutional "separation of powers."

But with increased fusion of governmental activity with industrial activity during the Progressive era and the New Deal, and the rise of the military-industrial complex after the Second World War, the actions of the major institutions of American society came to be joined and co-ordinated at the top levels of their hierarchical structures.

This new institutional configuration found its apologists in academia, who found the modern Leviathan to be an inevitable fact of life and considered it at the same time to be the best of all possible worlds.

Nonetheless, the inhabitants of the Multiversity, or in Clark Kerr's phrase, "the federal grant university," continued to have certain antiquated self-conceptions of their activities.

In 1966 when the news media broke stories which detailed the cooperation between the CIA and Michigan State University, panic broke out in academia.

Stanford Agitation

Stanford was no exception. The lead story in the Stanford *Daily* of May 3, 1966, began: "Armed with pickets declaring 'The Winds of Freedom Get Hotter All the Time,' 'The University and the CIA Have No Common Business,' and 'Come to the Inner City--Find the CIA,' approximately 35 students and faculty members gathered outside the office of Associate Provost for Research Hubert Heffner shortly after 1 p.m. yesterday. The group distributed statements protesting the Electrical Engineering Department's contract with the Central Intelligence Agency."

Professor William Rambo's CIA contract came with him when he moved from Harvard to Stanford. He was working on electromagnetic propagation, one of whose uses is over-the-horizon radar. In order to conceal from the University community the subject matter and the funding agency for Rambo's contract, in the words of Professor Pierre Noyes of SLAC, "the President of the University, and one or two others in the Administration who had appropriate security clearance had been informed of the CIA sponsorship, and had arranged a dummy entry on the [University] budget to cover the contract; whose significance could not be traced outside of this closed circle."

Second Contract

In an interview with the *Daily* in the spring of 1966, President Wallace Sterling said that there were two CIA contracts at Stanford. The first was engineering. The second was bibliography research. It was financed by

Stanford

a CIA front. Sterling told the *Daily* that the contract "came from a cover which we had no reason at the time to think was a cover for the CIA." More precise information as to the nature of this research project and the names of the researchers has not yet been uncovered.

At that time, according to what CIA employee Kennedy Lunt "Ken" Wilson told his fellow Stanford students in casual conversations, there were a total of five or six persons working for the CIA and going to school at Stanford, with a similar contingent at UC Berkeley.

Independent confirmation that CIA employees attend Stanford comes from a student contemporary of Wilson's, Garry Quinn, who was an employee of the Department of Defense International Security Agency while attending Stanford, and who told fellow students about a CIA employee who was studying at Stanford financed jointly by grants from the government and the Ford Foundation. In recent years, Vice Provost Robert Rosenzweig has told me on two separate occasions that there are CIA employees at Stanford.

Wilson, electrical engineering major and CIA employee, worked separately from Professor William Rambo, who held the CIA contract the students and professors were protesting on Inner Quad. Wilson took courses in engineering and economic systems and in radio science. He obtained an M.S. from the University in 1966, but stayed on through academic years 1966-67 and 1967-68. While he was here he lived off campus at 2439 Burnham in Palo Alto, and pursued academic subjects which aided his regular CIA work of reviewing foreign technical journals. Wilson now lives in Falls Church, Virginia (a suburb of Washington, D.C.), at 7415 Venice Street.

Teaching Stint

During academic year 1966-67, Wilson was for a short while a teaching assistant for Engineering 235, taught by Professor Bruce Lusignan. As a result, the "Acknowledgements" page in the final report of the Advanced System for Communication and Education in National Development project, issued in June 1967, states: "The members of Engineering 235 wish to thank Dr. Bruce Lusignan, Dr. William Bollay, Dr. Jean Mayers, Hunt Small, Al Morley, and Ken Wilson for their interest, guidance, and tactful direction throughout the ASCEND project."

Wilson was originally teaching the section on "Political and Economic Factors and Programming" of Engineering 235, which is the regular "project course" of the School of Engineering. That year the course topic was communication and educational television satellites for Brazil, India, and Indonesia. Wilson, however, was section

STATINTL

CIA on CIA

"I am the head of the silent service and cannot advertise my wares." - Allen Dulles, 1957.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors was flattered that theirs was the forum chosen by Mr. Richard Helms, director of Central Intelligence and concurrently director of the Central Intelligence Agency, for his first public speech in 10 years. "The quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States in 1971," he told the editors in a self-serving assessment, "is better than it has ever been before." It would have been interesting had Mr. Helms attempted a correlation between value and volume. Benjamin Welles in *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* (April 18, 1971) breaks down the daily mountain of intelligence information as "50 percent from overt sources such as periodicals, 35 percent from electronics [satellites and radio], and the remaining 15 percent from agents." How important is the 15 percent?

Mr. Helms noted the "growing criticism" of CIA, but he avoided any discussion of its cause. The "intelligence" function of the agency is not what has provoked all the controversy. Criticism has centered not on "spying," but on CIA's political action abroad - the suborning of political leaders, labor union officials, scholars, students, journalists and anyone else who can be bought. CIA has been criticized for straying from information gathering onto the path of manipulation of foundations and such organizations as the National Student Association or Radio Free Europe or the AFL-CIO. Through liaison with foreign police and security services, the CIA tries to keep track of foreign "subversives," frequently defined as those who want to depose the government in power. Each report it manages to secure from its clandestine sources has a price in terms of closer alliance with one reactionary regime after another - as in Greece and numerous countries in Asia and Latin America. The complicity is no secret to the host government, or to the Communists, only to the American taxpayer.

Mr. Helms' point that "CIA is not and cannot be its own master" is the most difficult to accept, even from the honorable man that Mr. Helms unquestionably is. To be sure, there is a review system, but it is more shadow than substance. The President's foreign intelligence advisory board, which is supposed to analyze a \$4 billion Intelligence program, is characterized by inattention, fatigue and a charming lack of expertise. There is only the most cursory inspection and oversight of CIA by "elements of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees," which from time to time raise their hands in benediction over any Intelligence presentation. The average congressional "watchdog" is long in the tooth, and prefers not to receive in detail highly classified information, confessing in advance lack of training in sound security

practices. Such small ad hoc bodies cannot possibly cope with the multi-agencies, their billions of dollars, and their hundreds of thousands of people; in sum, the "Intelligence community." The core question, as with the FBI, is an old one: who guards the guardians?

STATINTL

High Court Refuses to Review CIA Suit

The Supreme Court refused yesterday to review a lower court's decision that immunized a Central Intelligence Agency operative from a lawsuit for slander uttered "in the line of duty."

Over the dissents of Justices William O. Douglas and Potter Stewart, the court left standing the dismissal of a slander suit brought by Eerik Heine, an Estonian emigre, against Juri Raus, the CIA agent who said his utterances were made under orders.

Raus, employed as a federal highway engineer, accused Heine, a lecturer on the evils of communism, of being a Soviet agent. The accusation was designed as a warning to the Estonian emigre community in the United States that their ranks had been infiltrated, according to Heine, who was supported in lower courts by CIA Director Richard Helms.

The CIA's immunity defense raised controversy over the agency's proper domestic role five years ago when it was discovered infiltrating the National Student Association.

Federal law prohibits "domestic security functions" by the CIA, but the federal district court in Baltimore and the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals said Raus's actions were legitimate measures to protect the secrecy of America's foreign intelligence sources.

Four votes were needed for

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STATINTL

Letters to the Editor

To Control Spying

To the Editor:

I take issue with James Reston's suggestion [April 2 column] that the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board provides a model for assisting the President effectively to control domestic spying by Government secret agents.

The President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, originally the "Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities," was established in 1958 with the main purpose of forestalling the creation of a Congressional Joint Committee on Intelligence Activities.

Such a Congressional committee was recommended by General Mark Clark's Hoover Commission Task Force. But intelligence leaders persuaded President Eisenhower that this was a bad idea. And so Senator Mike Mansfield's proposed Joint Congressional Committee was defeated by Senate vote in 1956.

A President's Board was created in 1958 and Mr. Reston is correct in saying that it has had some distinguished chairmen and members over the years. But it has had a tiny staff, its chairmen and members have been busy with other careers, and it normally met no more than a dozen times each year. It has seemed to function as little more than a polite alumni visiting committee.

All the while, some horrible activities were sponsored by the C.I.A. and related agencies. Examples: the Bay of Pigs and secret financial subsidies of more than 200 private domestic organizations, such as the National Students Association. Also, a long list of intelligence failures has plagued our foreign policy, Vietnam being the most colossal.



"I only tap people who deserve it"

To operate a Presidential Advisory Committee on Domestic Spying may, as Mr. Reston argues, be of some value. But the record of the existing board, insofar as it is visible, raises serious doubts whether it will provide the proper balance between national security and individual rights.

There can be no substitute for a Presidential sensitivity and careful attention to the problem which no President from Truman to Nixon has shown; or for a more active legislative surveillance in place of abdication, until recently, of Congressional authority in the whole field of domestic and foreign intelligence and counter-intelligence activities.

HARRY HOWE RANSOM
Professor of Political Sciences
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, April 4, 1971

of the sunken or floating structures over, or under the navigable waters of the United States, its territorial waters or the high seas. It includes the transporting, erecting, constructing, operating, servicing, maintaining, repairing or dismantling of structures utilized in such operations, as well as the furnishing of food and lodging in connection with such an undertaking and the transportation of personnel and raw or refined minerals to, from or between such locations.

The bill defines the terms "employee" and "employer" for the purposes of this act only. The nonapplicability of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to the master or member of a crew of a vessel is expressly eliminated respecting employees under this bill unless they are solely and exclusively so engaged under manning requirements set forth by the U.S. Coast Guard.

This bill will also provide a remedy for a number of American nationals presently employed in over water locations, far removed from our shores, who now have no certain method of recovery.

Mr. President, in addition to meeting the recommendations as contained in the previously mentioned panel reports, it will, in my opinion, clarify and confirm the intent of the Congress to extend the jurisdiction of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to cover these operations, as endeavored in the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act. This congressional intent has been greatly clouded, if not destroyed, by the judicial decisions rendered since the passing of that act.

I believe this is necessary, basic legislation to establish or restore a workmen's compensation system of benefits and procedures for occupational disabilities, without regard to fault, in this area of industry. It would restore the basic objectives of such a system for both employees and employers in the marine extractive industries as it exists for the vast majority of all other industries.

Mr. President, I urge the members of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee to give this bill every possible consideration when the Committee holds hearings on bills previously introduced to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. Two major bills have previously been introduced in the Senate to make basic changes in the compensation benefit system for permanent or temporary disability coverage under this act, and as the committee studies these proposals, I hope it will see fit to include this particular measure in the final version of the bill.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my bill be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S. 1547

A bill relating to compensation in the case of disability or death of marine petroleum workers.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

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Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Marine Petroleum Workers' Compensation Act of 1971".

APPLICATION OF LONGSHOREMEN'S AND HARBOR WORKERS' COMPENSATION ACT

Sec. 2. (a) EXTENSION OF ACT.—Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the provisions of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, including all amendments which may hereafter be made to such Act, shall apply in respect of the injury or death of an employee which results from an injury (as defined in paragraph (2) of section 2 of such Act) which occurs while working or performing duties in the furtherance of a marine extractive operation.

(b) MARINE EXTRACTIVE OPERATION DEFINED.—For purposes of this Act, the term "marine extractive operation"—

(1) means any undertaking conducted for the purpose of exploring for, drilling, developing, producing, or transporting by pipeline the natural resources of the seabed when such undertaking is conducted upon, over, or under the navigable waters of the United States, its territorial waters, or the high seas, or from an artificial island or structure erected on or resting on any of such waters or seas;

(2) includes transporting, erecting, constructing, operating, servicing, maintaining, repairing, or dismantling any fixed, movable, floating, or floatable structure or artificial island used in such an undertaking while at such a location or while being transported to, from, or between such locations; and

(3) includes the furnishing of food and lodging in connection with any such undertaking and the transportation of personnel, and raw or refined minerals, to, from, or between such locations.

(c) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—When applying the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act for the purposes of this Act—

(1) The term "employee" means any individual in the service of any person under a contract of hire, express or implied, oral or written, who is engaged in any work or in the performance of any duties in the furtherance of a marine extractive operation.

(2) The term "employer" means any person who makes a contract of hire, express or implied, oral or written, with any individual to work, or perform any duties, in the furtherance of a marine extractive operation.

(d) EXCEPTION.—In applying the second sentence of section 3(a) of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, paragraph (1) of such second sentence shall not apply, but no compensation shall be payable under this Act in respect of the disability or death of any individual solely and exclusively engaged in full-time duty as the master or member of a crew of a vessel provided for in the manning requirements as set forth by the United States Coast Guard.

SOLE AND EXCLUSIVE REMEDY

Sec. 3. (a) PURPOSE OF ACT.—It is the purpose of this Act to restrict the remedy of an employee, his legal representative, husband or wife, parents, dependents, next of kin, and anyone otherwise entitled to recover damages on account of the injury or death which results from an injury (as defined in paragraph (2) of section 2 of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act) while working or performing duties in the furtherance of a marine extractive operation to the compensation provided by such Act pursuant to this Act.

(b) OTHER REMEDIES BARRED.—Such remedy shall be in lieu of, and an absolute bar to, all other claims of the employee, and those claiming through or by virtue of him—

(1) against the employer in respect of in-

jury or death resulting from the Act of March 4, 1915, as amended (Jones Act; 46 U.S.C., sec. 683), or the Act of March 30, 1920 (Death on the High Seas Act; 46 U.S.C., sec. 761 et seq.), or arising from the unseaworthiness of any platform, artificial island, barge, rig, vessel, or other floating equipment in use by such employer at the time of such injury or death in connection with a marine extractive operation (whether or not such platform, artificial island, barge, rig, vessel, or other floating equipment is owned by the employer); and

(2) against the platform, artificial island, barge, rig, vessel, or other floating equipment in use by such employer in respect of injury or death arising from unseaworthiness when the platform, artificial island, barge, rig, vessel, or other floating equipment is owned by the employer at the time of the accident.

By Mr. NELSON:

S. 1550. A bill to provide for more adequate protection of the constitutional rights and civil liberties of individuals through the establishment of a commission to investigate the domestic surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities being carried out by the Government and to make recommendations to the Congress for measures to insure that such activities do not infringe upon or threaten the rights of individuals guaranteed by the Constitution. Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES PROTECTION ACT OF 1971

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I introduce a bill to establish a commission, entitled "The Constitutional Rights and Civil Liberties Protection Act of 1971," and I ask that it be appropriately referred.

I think there is cause to be deeply disturbed by a number of developments recently which seem to indicate an alarming trend in this country toward the use of police-state tactics. Just over 4 years ago on February 23, 1967, I spoke on this issue on the Senate floor specifically directing attention to the disclosures of CIA subsidization of domestic organizations; the widespread use of wiretapping; the Government funding of propaganda books for the U.S. Information Agency; and the growing abuses of private and corporate spying.

Since that time, such activities have quite obviously expanded and proliferated within the Federal bureaucracy as evidenced by such recent disclosures as the widespread Army spying and FBI surveillance of Earth Day events last year.

This type of activity, carried out under a cloak of secrecy, is contrary to the public interest. Clandestine intelligence operations constitute a continuing threat to our existence as a free and open society and this threat is amplified so long as Congress—as the representative of the public—has no suitable mechanism or capability to continually and accurately monitor the activities of governmental intelligence agencies. Congress must be in a position to assure the public that the interests of national security are balanced by constitutional guarantees of political freedom and individual civil liberties.

STATIN

April 15, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

S 4913

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(1) 6 Senators, to be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate—

(A) 3 of whom shall be from among individuals recommended by the Majority Leader of the Senate; and

(B) 3 of whom shall be from among individuals recommended by the Minority Leader of the Senate;

(2) 6 Representatives, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives—

(A) 3 of whom shall be from among individuals recommended by the Majority Leader of the House; and

(B) three of whom shall be from among individuals recommended by the minority Leader of the House; and

(3) twelve members not otherwise employed by the Federal Government to be selected by the Senators and Representatives appointed to the Commission from among persons who, as determined by such Senators and Representatives, are qualified to serve on the Commission and who are representative of the broad public interest to be served by the Commission.

(b) For the purpose of selecting members of the Commission under paragraph 3 of subsection (a), six members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum. For any other purpose, twelve members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

(c) The Commission shall elect from among its members not otherwise employed by the Federal Government a Chairman and a Vice Chairman, who shall serve as Chairman in the absence of the Chairman.

(d) A vacancy in the Commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Commission.

(e) (1) Members of the Commission who are otherwise employed by the Federal Government shall serve without compensation, but shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in carrying out the duties of the Commission.

(2) Members of the Commission not otherwise employed by the Federal Government shall receive compensation at a rate which is the daily equivalent of the highest rate payable under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, for each day (including travel-time) they are engaged in the performance of their duties as members of the Commission, and shall be entitled to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in carrying out the duties of the Commission.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 3. The Commission shall investigate the domestic surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities of the Government and the impact of such activities on the constitutional rights and civil liberties of individuals in order to determine—

(1) which Government agencies are conducting domestic surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities;

(2) under what authority of law such activities are being carried out;

(3) the manner in which, and methods by which, such activities are being carried out;

(4) the activities and persons who are the subjects of domestic surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities;

(5) the type of information which is being gathered and compiled through such activities;

(6) the manner in which information gathered through such activities is stored, the uses made of such information, and the persons to whom such information is made available;

(7) the extent of cooperative domestic surveillance and intelligence-gathering activities carried out by the agencies of the Government;

(8) the impact of such activities upon the constitutional rights and civil liberties of individuals; and

(9) what measures are undertaken, or should be taken, in connection with such activities to insure that such activities do not infringe upon or threaten the rights of individuals guaranteed by the Constitution.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 4. (a) The Commission is authorized—

(1) to hold such hearings, take such testimony, and sit and act at such times and places as it deems advisable in order to carry out its duties;

(2) to employ and fix the compensation of such employees, and purchase or otherwise acquire such furniture, office equipment, books, stationery, and other supplies as may be necessary for the proper performance of its duties;

(3) to obtain the services of experts and consultants in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of title 5, United States Code;

(4) to obtain the services of any organization (contracts entered into under the authority of this paragraph shall not be subject to the provisions of section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (41 U.S.C. 5) or any provision of law requiring advertising), and

(5) to use the United States mails in the same manner and upon the same conditions as departments and agencies of the United States.

(b) Each department, agency, and instrumentality of the Government is authorized to furnish to the Commission, upon request of the Chairman, such information as the Commission considers necessary to obtain in order to carry out its duties.

(c) (1) The Commission shall have power to require by subpoena, signed by the Chairman, the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence relating to any matter under investigation. Members of the Commission and employees of the Commission designated by the Chairman may administer oaths and affirmations, examine witnesses, and receive evidence.

(2) Subpoenas issued by the Commission under this subsection may be enforced, depositions taken, and witness fees paid in the manner provided in section 9 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 49) and the provisions of section 10 of such Act (15 U.S.C. 50) are made applicable to the jurisdiction, powers, and duties of the Commission, except that the attendance of a witness may not be required outside of the State where he is found, resides, or transacts business, and the production of evidence may not be required outside the State in which such evidence is kept.

(d) With the consent of the head of the department or agency concerned, the Commission may use, on a reimbursable basis, the services of personnel, information, and facilities of any department or agency of the Government.

REPORTS

Sec. 5. Within 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall report to the Congress its findings, conclusions, and recommendations, including any recommendations for legislation it may have. The Commission is authorized to make such interim reports and recommendations as it deems appropriate. All reports of the Commission shall be made public. The Commission shall terminate 30 days after the date on which it submits its final report to the Congress.

PAYMENT OF EXPENSES

Sec. 6. All expenses and salaries of the Commission shall be paid by the Secretary

of the Senate, from funds appropriated for the Commission, upon vouchers signed by the Chairman.

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Sec. 7. There are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission \$5,000,000.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my speech delivered on February 23, 1967, entitled, "The Alarming Trend Toward Police-State Tactics" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ALARMING TREND TOWARD POLICE-STATE TACTICS

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I think there is cause to be deeply disturbed by a number of developments recently which seem to indicate an alarming trend in this country toward the use of police-state tactics.

I refer to the following developments:

First. The lavish subsidization of the National Student Association and other private domestic organizations by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Second. The widespread use of wiretapping and eavesdropping by Government agencies.

Third. The subsidization of supposedly legitimate books by the U.S. Information Agency, primarily for propaganda purposes.

Fourth. The use of private detective agencies by large corporations such as General Motors to harass a private citizen such as Ralph Nader.

Fifth. The widespread practice of industrial spying to discover competitor's corporate secrets.

Sixth. The use of a private detective agency by the State of Florida, allegedly to conduct a widespread investigation into crime and corruption.

All of these developments have provoked considerable publicity, and most of them have been criticized in one way or another. When we view all of these developments and others like them, as a developing trend or pattern in our society, I think we have reason to be gravely concerned as to whether the United States of America, perhaps unwillingly and unwittingly, is veering away from its traditional role as a free society and drifting toward a passive acceptance of the repulsive practices of a police state.

All of these disturbing developments have certain things in common.

In the first place, all have been carried out under a cloak of secrecy. That alone raises grave questions of public policy. Although there might be a few isolated instances where secrecy can be justified by Government agencies or by giant corporations dealing with public questions, as a general rule secrecy is inevitably contrary to the public interest and a step toward corruption and tyranny.

Even more important than their common cloak of secrecy, all of these six activities have involved an element of dishonesty.

When our world-famed intelligence service took over the largest student organization in America, it was not merely an act of secrecy. It was an act of out and out dishonesty. Time after time our Government has denied Communist charges that American students abroad were being used as spies. Now it appears possible or even probable that these statements issued by our Government by students themselves and even their parents were lies. Note that the CIA urged the NSA to deny it was subsidized—in other words, to state that Ramparts magazine, rather than the NSA or the CIA, was lying about this

ATLANTA, GA.

JOURNAL

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STATINTL

FEB 1 1971

ANOTHER CIA FRONT

Radio Free Europe Isn't Free

By CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER

EVERY REGULAR bus rider has seen the car card advertisements of Radio Free Europe. The latest is a young boy whose forehead is wrapped in heavy chains. "He needs a mind of his own," the card proclaims. "He needs the facts, news, world opinion."



Now, everyone agrees that Eastern Europe needs facts and opinion to help counterbalance the continuing Niagara of government propaganda to which its people are exposed. It is equally true that Americans need the facts about Radio Free Europe. Hopefully, that truth is now unfolding.

* * *

SINCE the first frost of the "Cold War", we have been told that Radio Free Europe is a privately supported, nongovernmental activity, whose existence depends upon individual contributions. The Advertising Council, which sponsors the car cards, provides an estimated \$15 million annually in media space which is used to solicit funds. And Radio Free Europe, with executive offices in New York, transmitters in Munich, and several thousand employees, keeps beaming "the facts, news, world opinion" into Eastern Europe.

Unfortunately, Radio Free Europe has never disclosed the facts to Americans. For it is not free at all. Instead, it costs the American taxpayers \$30 million dollars a year—all funnelled through the labyrinthine channels of the Central Intelligence Agency. Private contributions—upon which it supposedly depends—make up about 3 per cent of its budget.

* * *

THESE disclosures came in Senate Appropriations hearings. They are shocking because of the blatant hoodwinking which has gone on now for more than 20 years, but they are not really surprising.

Four years ago it was discovered that CIA funds had been routed into the National Student Association through a series of fake "foundations." The hue and cry of that disclosure resulted in adoption of a policy that "no federal agency shall provide covert support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations."

Radio Free Europe, theoretically both educational and voluntary, has consumed possibly \$100 million in CIA money since President Johnson approved that policy four years ago.

* * *

NSA and RFE are only two CIA covers which have been blown. What is deeply disturbing is the unknown mass which is yet below the surface.

What other organizations

are CIA fronts? And what unknown deeds are performed in the name of and at the expense of the American people?

Lord Acton said that power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Secret power—unchecked, unknown, and unaccounted for—is surely the most corrupting force in any society.

* * *

WHOEVER can penetrate the marble fastness of CIA headquarters at Langley, Va. (mislabelled "Bureau of Public Roads") see carved in the lintels of the lobby, "You shall know the truth and the truth will make you free."

May the day come when that script is heeded by the Central Intelligence Agency. The United States is come of age. It is time we put aside childish things.

GREENSBORO, N.C.

RECORD

JAN 29 1978

E. - 33,470

The CIA Intrusion Raises A Question Of Credibility

It is probable that the greatest asset (certainly the most persuasive) of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty has been the belief of listeners behind the Iron Curtain that they were receiving information from men, unlike them, unfettered.

Certainly the independence of those radio outlets has been their selling point in soliciting private funds. That those funds have not been lavish — perhaps less than \$100,000 from the public and about \$4 million from corporations and foundations in 1969 — does not render the value of independence negligible. The media would not have donated \$12 million to \$20 million in free space annually to assist a cause not considered independent.

On both sides of that Iron Curtain free men need to pierce, Senator Clifford Case's information will come as a jolt — perhaps one fatal to both the broadcasting units. For even the senator's remedy — although infinitely better than the disease he discloses — may not be sure-fire.

Honest government subsidy is preferable, of course, to covert government subsidy. But what need, the disillusioned may well ask, for more government channels when there exists the Voice of America?

It is Senator Case — no casual muckraker — who testifies that at least \$30 million of the \$34 million needed by the two "independent" stations in 1969 came from the Central Intelligence Agency. Furthermore, he says, "during the past 20 years several hundred million dollars in U.S. government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe". It is not the senator's purpose to shut down the two stations. He believes they

are worth keeping — but only if they are open in their relationship to the government and if the Congress — a better adviser on foreign policy than the espionage establishment — exercises its normal authorization and appropriation controls. Senator Case would provide the stations with an initial outlay of \$30 million and amend the U. S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to prohibit the use of any other government funds.

Assuming that the stations are now worth saving, that is certainly the right approach. Still applicable is the recommendation of a presidential committee that in 1967 investigated CIA funding of the National Student Association: "No federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational and voluntary organizations".

The committee report was not meant to be filed and forgotten. President Lyndon Johnson directed that federal agencies follow the recommendation.

That the CIA ignored the advice does not mean that there is any Machiavellian plot behind its radio financing. It does mean that there will arise suspicion of Machiavellian plot among those people to whom messages about "liberty" and a "free Europe" are beamed. The suspicion, in this instance, is almost as damaging as the proof.

That in mind, the Congress should not overlong debate the wisdom of overt U.S.A. versus covert CIA control. Siding with Senator Case in that unhappy choice, legislators should move on to consider the worth of any fettered medium's advertisement of freedom.

STATINTL

NEWARK, N.J.
NEWSE - 267,289
S - 423,331

JAN 28 1971

U.S. Seeking to Reconcile Spying With Democracy

By NATHAN MILLER
Editorial Research Reports*Washington*

The United States still is trying to find an acceptable formula for mixing undercover operations with democracy. The latest disclosure that the Army has been spying on thousands of civilians again raises questions about the seemingly uncontrolled growth of intelligence operations in this country.

Most of the Army's civilian-watching began in 1967 when it was called in to deal with racial and antiwar disturbances. Ranking officers discovered they had no information on potential troublemakers. An organization called Continental United States Intelligence was set up to get it. Before the unit was disbanded in 1969, it had fed the names of some 18,000 civilians into its computers, dossiers and files.

In the wake of charges that this was the entering wedge of the police state, Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird last Dec. 23 ordered a shakeup of military intelligence operations to place them under stricter civilian control. Laird said he wanted to make sure these activities were "completely consistent with constitutional rights, all other legal provisions and national security needs."

Meanwhile, it was reported yesterday that the Army has ordered a "purge" of the files at its counter-intelligence headquarters at Ft. Holabird, Md. However, the directive permits continued spying on some civilians, such as those engaged in attempts to subvert military morale or in un-

authorized activities near Army facilities.

Prime Target

Most of the past criticism of intelligence operations has been directed at the CIA. It was blamed for the failure of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, where it had charge of planning the operation and carrying it out. The "company"—as it is sometimes known—also was strongly criticized for its handling of the U2 incident in 1960.

More recent was the outcry in 1967 when it was disclosed that the CIA was using dummy foundations to fund the National Students Association, cultural organizations and the international operations of some unions. Plans were announced to study the possibility of creating a quasi-public agency to handle such transactions, but no report was made.

Spying on civilians goes much further than Army snooping on politicians and potential troublemakers, according to Sen. Sam J. Ervin, D-N.C. His Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights has scheduled hearings for Feb. 23 in an attempt to end what he has called "this warfare on the American people."

Ervin has charged that the Civil Service Commission keeps a total of 15 million names in a security file. Thousands of other names are being fed into the computer of the Justice Department's Civil Disturbance Group. The Secret Service has a computerized list of activities. The Department of Transportation has an electronic dossier of 2.6 million Americans who ever had a driver's license suspended or revoked. America is well on the way to becoming a dossier society.

PROVIDENCE; R.I.
JOURNAL

M - 66,673
S - 209,501

JAN 28 1971

Challenge to the CIA

Two liberal Republicans in Congress have rushed in where others fear to tread and impaled an issue that has dangled much too long. Not since the Central Intelligence Agency was brought on the carpet four years ago for secretly funding the National Student Association have the CIA's covert activities been seriously challenged.

Sen. Clifford P. Case of New Jersey and Rep. Ogden R. Reid of New York are introducing bills in their respective chambers to end the annual multi-million-dollar funding of radio broadcasting facilities abroad without the express consent of Congress.

Senator Case charged that the CIA channeled hundreds of millions of dollars to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty over the last 20 years and that the bulk of the stations' combined budgets "or more than 30 million annually, comes from direct CIA subsidies."

Ironically, the Johnson administration moved to curtail such CIA operations soon after the National Student Association disclosures in 1967. A special committee was set up to study the matter and the President accepted its recommendations that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations" and that "no programs currently would justify any exceptions to this policy."

Exceptions were made, however, and that is what concerns Senator Case and Congressman Reid.

The stations—transmitting from Munich, West Germany, to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—claim independent, non-governmental status. They solicit contributions from private groups and individuals on that basis though evidence indicates that less than \$100,000 a year is raised from that source.

Established at the height of the Cold War in the early 1950s, these stations obviously are engaged in the same activities as the Voice of America and the U.S. Information Agency whose purse strings are held by Congress. Clearly, it should be up to Congress, not the CIA to decide whether their functions remain valid and, if so, to what degree govern-

STATINTL

ment support is warranted. Clearly, there are no grounds for exemptions from the 1967 policy. Any aid from the federal treasury ought to be provided through normal authorization and appropriation procedures.

Americans reluctantly grant the CIA its special status on the basis of national security. Undercover operations are an inescapable function of modern international relations. But exclusions from the public's right to know and other tenets of democratic constitutional government are and ought to be dispensed with utmost restraint. The American public recoiled from the unconscionable use of students as propaganda stooges. It is hard to see how the covert backing of supposedly independent broadcast facilities is on much higher ground.

HARTFORD, CONN.

TIMES

JAN 26 1971

E & S - 135,812

The CIA CROPS UP AGAIN

Conspiratorial government is not America's dish. The country was properly shocked when it learned, four years ago, that the Central Intelligence Agency was pouring money into student associations, and subsidizing a broad range of private agencies in education, law, religion, journalism, and labor.

President Johnson and the top members of his administration professed to be shocked, too. They issued a solemn promise to stop such practices.

But — in at least the case of Radio Free Europe — the promise wasn't kept.

IT WAS DISCLOSED the other day that, over the past few years, millions of dollars have been given to Radio Free Europe by the CIA. Once again we are made to wonder how much faith to put in the promises of our government.

Radio Free Europe has been sold to the American people as a completely private agency, speaking in no way for our government. It has always solicited funds on this basis.

And — on that basis — it has used its powerful broadcast facilities to beam a powerful mixture of entertainment, educational features,

and pure propaganda to listeners in Eastern Europe.

The question must now be raised as to whether the CIA actually stopped paying a number of other organizations to serve as secret fronts for international snooping and trouble-making.

If the funding of Radio Free Europe was never halted — as we were told it would be — what about the CIA's reported funding of the other groups listed in the scandal of 1967?

Are we still giving CIA money to "research" projects at Stanford? Or to the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers? Or the National Council of Churches, the National Educational Association, the American Newspaper Guild, or the African American Institute?

HAS THE CIA, indeed, continued its policy of using the very agencies that bespeak the openness of American society to carry out the kind of missions one might expect in the tightest of police states?

In the last round, the orders from the President were evidently ignored. The full report promised to the White House was, too.

This time Congress had better find out what the CIA is doing.

THE SMALL SOCIETY

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016

U.S. Keeps Funding Tie to RFE

Associated Press

The Nixon administration ruled yesterday that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "are not educational or private voluntary organizations" and an established policy of denying CIA financing to them therefore does not apply.

At the same time the administration--through a State Department spokesman--affirmed its intention to continue the policy that was worked out under the leadership of Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, then Under Secretary of State, after a national blowup over CIA financial payments to student organizations and other groups.

Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) said Saturday that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which beam programs into Communist Eastern Europe, had spent \$34 million in 1969 and that more than \$30 million of that had come from the Central Intelligence Agency.

Case called for an end to the secret subsidy and for direct, open financing of the stations through congressional action.

State Department press officer Robert J. McCloskey said the Katzenbach policy covers "the whole question of funding for domestic educational and private voluntary organizations."

As to how the stations have actually been funded or what their money supply might be in the future, McCloskey said "No comment."

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Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000100230001-8

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-0

OUTLAY URGED FOR STATIONS

**Radio Free Europe Now In
CIA Sphere, Case Warns**

By PETER J. KUMPA

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington, Jan. 23—Senator Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.) announced today that he will introduce legislation Monday to provide for open congressional financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Mr. Case explained that, if approved, the legislation would remove the stations from the need for secret funds from the Central Intelligence Agency. He said that in the last fiscal year, the CIA provided a direct subsidy of \$30 million to the stations which broadcast to the Soviet Union and five Eastern European Communist countries.

Although both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty claim to be non-governmental organizations sponsored by private contributions, the senator said that "available sources" indicate the CIA pays almost all their costs.

Produces Tax Returns

He produced figures from returns filed with the Internal Revenue Service showing that the combined operating costs for the stations in fiscal 1969 was almost \$34 million (\$21,169,935 for Radio Free Europe and \$12,837,401 for Radio Liberty).

Though a national advertising campaign under the auspices of the Advertising Council uses somewhere between \$12 and \$20 million in free media space to solicit contributions for the stations, Mr. Case said, returns from the public amount to less than \$100,000.

The stations raise the rest of their budgets from corporate and foundation contributions, he said.

"Congress has never partici-

STATINTL

pated in authorization or appropriations of funds to Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty, although hundreds of millions of dollars in government funds have been spent during the last 20 years," Senator Case said.

"I can understand why covert funds might have been used for a year or two in an emergency situation when extreme secrecy was necessary and when no other government funds were available," he went on.

Lessening Of Tension

But now, the senator asserted, with the lessening of international tension and with the melting of secrecy, some means of open financing of the stations should have been provided.

"In other words, the extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes and congressional approval no longer exist," Senator Case said.

The senator was not critical of the work of the stations, both which have their main offices and studios in Munich, Germany. His legislation, in fact, would authorize \$30 million for continuation of their work. He simply wants Congress to supervise the spending of tax payers' money.

Radio Free Europe started in 1950, broadcasts to Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. Radio Liberty, opened a year later, concentrates only on the Soviet Union. In 1953, Radio Free Europe was criticized for raising false hopes of help for the Hungarian rebels. Since then, the stations have been his controversial.

Informed congressional sources have no doubts about the close tie-up between the stations and the government.

A full-time liaison officer from

the consulate in Munich is assigned to go over program content to make it conform to U.S. government policy, they point out. Because classified as well as unclassified government information is provided, security personnel check out the stations, the same sources report.

Further, they say U.S. embassy officials from Eastern Europe get briefings at Radio Free Europe. The station, in turn, uses the coded communications of the Munich consulate to keep in touch with Washington, the sources report.

Though their studios are in Germany, the transmitters for the stations are in Spain, Portugal and Taiwan, all countries with special arrangements with the United States, the sources report.

1957 Panel's Findings

In 1957, after disclosures of CIA financing of the National Student Association, a presidential committee made up of John Gardner, then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Richard Helms, CIA director, and Nicholas de B. Ratzenbach, then under secretary of State, recommended that no federal agency should provide covert funds for any of the nation's "educational or voluntary organizations."

President Johnson accepted the committee's recommendations. On March 29, 1967, he ordered all federal agencies to implement them.

Senator Case's bill, similar to one shortly to be introduced in the House by Representative Ogden R. Heid (R., N.Y.), would provide funds for the stations out of the Informational and Educational Exchange Act. It would forbid funding by any other government channel.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016

CIA FUNDS OVERSEAS RADIO, CASE CHARGES

Exclusive To The Times From Reuters

WASHINGTON - Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, both broadcasting into Eastern Europe from Munich, are financed by the Central Intelligence Agency, and as such should be under congressional control, Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) said Saturday.

He charged that although the two stations claim to be non-governmental operations, the CIA actually paid nearly all of their costs--a total of about \$30 million--for the fiscal year ending last June 30.

He said he would introduce legislation in the Senate Monday to bring the stations under the authorization and appropriation processes of Congress. He added that Rep. Ogden R. Reid (R-N.Y.) would introduce similar legislation

in the House.

Case said he would initially propose continued funding at the \$30 million level, but call for hearings to determine the actual amount of money needed

for the stations' operations.

Case noted that when it ago that the CIA had been supporting the National Student Assn., President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered an end to secret government funding of educational and voluntary organizations.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP

Case Would Bar C.I.A. Aid For Radio Free Europe

By BENJAMIN WELLES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23.— Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, charged today that the Central Intelligence Agency had spent several hundred million dollars over the last 20 years to keep Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty functioning.

Mr. Case, a member of the Appropriations and Foreign Relations Committees, said that he would introduce legislation Monday to bring Government spending on the two stations under the authorization and appropriations process of Congress. Representative Ogden R. Reid, Republican of Westchester, said today that he would introduce similar legislation in the House.

Radio Free Europe, founded in 1950, and Radio Liberty, formed a year later, both have powerful transmitters in Munich, West Germany, staffed by several thousand American technicians and refugees from Eastern Europe.

Radio Liberty broadcasts only into the Soviet Union, Radio Free Europe to other Eastern European countries except Yugoslavia.

Both organizations have offices in New York and purport to be privately endowed with funds coming exclusively from foundations, corporations and the public. Both, however, are extremely reticent about the details of their financing.

Senator Case noted in a statement that both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty "claim to be nongovernmental organizations sponsored by private contributions." However, he went on, "available sources indicate direct C.I.A. subsidies pay nearly all their costs."

The Senator said that the Central Intelligence Agency provided the stations with \$30-million in the last fiscal year without formal Congressional approval.

Disclosures Restricted

Under its operating rules, its activities—such as covert funding—are approved by the

National Security Council. However, disclosure to Congress is limited to a handful of senior legislators on watchdog committees of each house.

The Central Intelligence Agency and Radio Free Europe both declined to comment today on Senator Case's statement. Efforts to elicit comment from Radio Liberty were unavailing.

Covert C.I.A. funding of the two stations has, however, been an open secret for years, although the C.I.A., in accordance with standing policy, and the two stations themselves have consistently refused to discuss either their operations or their funding.

Citing returns filed with the Internal Revenue Service in the 1969 fiscal year, Mr. Case said that the stations' combined operating costs that year totaled \$33,997,336. Of this, he said, Radio Free Europe spent \$21,109,925 and Radio Liberty \$12,887,401.

Funds Sought by Advertising
"The bulk of Radio Free Europe's and Radio Liberty's budgets, or more than \$30-million annually, comes from direct C.I.A. subsidies," Mr. Case charged. "Congress has never participated in authorization of appropriations of funds to R.F.E. or R.L., although hundreds of millions of dollars in Government funds have been spent during the last 20 years."

Mr. Case pointed out that Radio Free Europe conducted a yearly campaign for public contributions under the auspices of the Advertising Council. Between \$12-million and \$20-million in free media space is donated annually to this campaign, he said, but the return from the public is "apparently less than \$100,000."

Furthermore, he said, both stations attempt to raise money from corporations and foundations but contributions from these sources reportedly pay only a small part of the stations' total budgets.

Senator Case said that his proposed legislation would seek to amend the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to authorize funds for both stations in the fiscal year beginning next July 1. His proposal would call for an initial sum of \$30-million, but he said that the sum would be subject to change.

STATINTL

Bar on Other Funds

At the same time, Mr. Case said, his proposal would provide that "no other" United States Government funds could be made available to either station except under the provisions of the act. He also said that he would ask that Administration officials concerned

"They solved all the tough ones," one source said, "but they were under such pressure from Johnson to get their

Congress and the public cut off that they didn't solve the fundings of the stations. They turned it over to another committee."

The second committee, whose members these sources deelined to identify, worked over a year to determine the amount needed for the stations' operations. recommendations to Mr. Johnson

"I can understand why co-son. However, Mr. Johnson

vert funds might have been pigeonholed the recommendations used for a year or two in actions and finally left the

emergency situation when ex-problem for the incoming

treme secrecy was necessary Nixon Administration to solve,

and when no other Government the sources said.

funds were available," Mr. Case said.

But, he went on, the justification for covert funding has lessened over the years as international tension has eased, as the secrecy surrounding the stations has "melted away," and as more open means of funding could be developed.

"In other words," he said, "the extraordinary circumstances that might have been thought to justify circumvention of constitutional processes and Congressional approval no longer exist."

John Created XXX

Mr. Case pointed out that in 1967, after there had been public disclosure that the C.I.A. had been secretly funding the National Student Association, President Johnson created a committee that was headed by Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, the Under Secretary of State, and that included Richard Helms, head of the C.I.A., and John W. Gardner, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

He further noted that on March 29, 1967, Mr. Johnson publicly accepted the committee's recommendation that "no Federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations" and that "no programs currently would justify any exceptions to this policy."

People familiar with the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty noted that both had been started at the peak of the Cold War and had just "gone rolling on" ever since. Some sources said, had cut off covert funding from virtually all other recipients.

STATINTL

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E - 640,783
S - 681 8314
JAN 24 1971

Sen. Case Fights Secrecy On Radio Free Europe Aid

By LINDA J. BEFFNER

Bulletin Washington Bureau

Washington--Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-NJ), charging that millions of dollars in Central Intelligence Agency funds is used to operate Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, is urging Congress to control the funding of the two stations.

Case said he plans to introduce legislation tomorrow calling for the two propaganda stations to be operated "under the authorization and appropriation process of Congress."

"During the last 20 years," Case said in a statement yesterday, "several hundred million dollars in U. S. Government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe."

"In the last fiscal year alone, over \$30 million was provided by the CIA as a direct government subsidy, yet at no time was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditure."

Most Costs Linked to CIA

Case said that although Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty both claim to be non-governmental organizations sponsored by private contributions, high sources indicate that direct CIA subsidies pay nearly all their costs.

According to Internal Revenue Service returns, he said, the combined operating cost of the two stations for fiscal 1969 was almost \$34 million--\$21.1 million for Radio Free Europe and \$12.8 million for Radio Liberty.

Although Radio Free Europe conducts a fund-raising campaign each year, Case said, he has been informed that only about \$12 to \$20 million in free advertising space is donated, less than \$100,000 is contributed by the public and from corporations and foundations are small.

The rest, Case said,

comes from the CIA.

Asked about Case's charges, a CIA spokesman said:

"The Central Intelligence Agency never responds to statements."

Other Washington sources report that despite insistence by the two stations that they are private organizations U. S. officials assigned to the American consulate general in Munich, Germany, maintain extremely close contact with them.

At least one of these officials, according to the sources, maintains a full-time liaison role to the two stations with a mission of assuring that their program content does not differ from U. S. policy.

To keep the stations informed, the sources said, the liaison man passes on a steady stream of classified and unclassified U. S. Government documents reporting on events in Eastern Europe.

Security Inspection

In addition, the sources said, U. S. Government security officers regularly inspect the headquarters of the two stations to make sure the facilities for keeping the classified material are secure.

The sources added that the Government's official connection with the stations is further heightened by a State Department program which regularly brings American embassy officials throughout Eastern Europe to Munich for extensive briefing sessions.

In addition, the sources said, coded communications of the consulate general are regularly used for communicating with Washington, with the stations apparently having the use of the Government's diplo-

matic pouch and Army Post Office facilities.

Case's allegations bring to mind the 1967 disclosure that the CIA was funding the National Student Association.

At that time, a presidential commission, composed of John Gardner, then secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; CIA Director Richard Helms, and Nicholas Katzenbach, then under secretary of state, recommended that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations."

President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered the recommendation implemented by all federal agencies.

Appropriations Sought

Case said the bill he will introduce tomorrow would amend the U. S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to authorize funds to the two radio stations in fiscal 1972.

It also will provide, he said, that no other federal funds could be made available to either station, except under the act.

Case said his proposal tentatively calls for an authorization of \$30 million, but that Administration officials would be called to testify on the financial needs of the stations.

The New Jersey senator said a bill similar to his will soon be introduced in the House by Rep. Ogden R. Reid (R-NY).

BATTLE CREEK, MICH.
ENQUIRER & NEWS
JAN 19 1979
E - 40,908
S - 44,235

STATINTL

IN OUR OPINION:

More control needed over CIA activities

The assassination of John F. Kennedy, an event practically relegated to history books and the Warren Commission Report, might become a subject of debate again and perhaps even further investigation, especially into the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Washington columnist Jack Anderson, whose writing frequently appears on this page, claims to have information possibly related to the assassination. He says the information is from "sources whose credentials are beyond question."

Anderson says the CIA tried six times in the years preceding Kennedy's death to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. In today's column, Anderson also links the CIA to the deaths of Dominican Republic dictator Rafael Trujillo and former South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem.

We don't doubt that the CIA is capable of pulling off such James Bond-style intrigues as Anderson has suggested. The question is, did it, and if it did, what can be done now?

Many congressmen have criticized the seeming autonomy of the CIA. Critics have charged that it acts as an actual policy-making body, rather than serving an advisory function on matters of intelligence and security.

Objections to the CIA's activities led in 1966 to a bitter debate on the Senate floor. Sen. J. William

Fulbright, D-Ark., introduced a resolution which called for the creation of a nine-member overseeing committee to keep tabs on the CIA. Fulbright wanted to draw the nine members equally from the Armed Services, Appropriations and Foreign Relations committees, in hopes of bringing the activities of the agency under closer supervision and scrutiny.

The resolution lost on a point of order vote which relegated it to the Armed Services Committee, where it died.

Early the following year, the nation learned of the CIA's involvement in secret subsidization of organizations engaged in education, law, journalism, labor and religion. In response, President Lyndon Johnson ordered the CIA and other government agencies to halt secret financing of private voluntary organizations.

Now the CIA has been accused of outright plotting to murder foreign heads of state. Anderson hints that President Kennedy had not ordered the CIA to undertake such missions. Anderson also suggests that Kennedy's own death was the result of the alleged CIA attempts on Castro's life.

The CIA continues to function much as it did in the early 1960s--no new controls have been put on it.

Anderson's charges, if proven true, should provide the impetus for a renewed effort to bring the CIA under proper controls.

AMERICAN OPINION

Jan 1971

NO INTELLIGENCE

A Worried Look At The C.I.A.

Frank A. Capell is a professional intelligence specialist of almost thirty years' standing. He is Editor and Publisher of the fortnightly newsletter, The Herald Of Freedom, has contributed to such important national magazines as The Review Of The News, and is author of Robert F. Kennedy - A Political Biography, The Untouchables, and other books of interest to Conservatives. Mr. Capell appears frequently on radio and television, lectures widely, and never fears controversy. He lives in New Jersey, is an active Catholic layman, and father of seven sons.

■ THE Central Intelligence Agency was established in 1947 after its wartime predecessor, the Office of Strategic Services (O.S.S.), was exposed as thoroughly infiltrated by the Communists. Let us examine some of that O.S.S. personnel.

In 1948, former Communist spy Elizabeth Bentley appeared as a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. On Page 529 of the formal report of those Hearings is the record of Miss Bentley's testimony about intelligence she received from Comrades inside O.S.S. while she was operating as a Soviet courier:

All types of information were given, highly secret information on what the OSS was doing, such as, for example, that they were trying to make secret negotiations with governments in the Balkan bloc in case the war ended, that they were parachuting people into Hungary, that they were sending OSS people into Turkey to operate in the Balkans, and so on. The fact that General Donovan [head of O.S.S.] was interested in having an exchange between the NKVD [the Soviet secret police] and the OSS.

That's right, O.S.S. and the N.K.V.D. were working very close indeed.

When asked what kind of information Communist O.S.S. operative Maurice Halperin gave her to be forwarded to the Soviet Union, Miss Bentley testified:

"Well, in addition to all the information which OSS was getting on Latin America, he had access to the cables which the OSS was getting in from its agents abroad, worldwide information of various sorts, and also the OSS had an agreement with the State Department whereby he also could see State Department cables on vital issues." Halperin was Chief of the O.S.S. Latin American Division at the time when, as Miss Bentley has sworn, he was one of her contacts in a Soviet espionage ring.

Carl Aldo Marzani was Chief of the Editorial Section of the O.S.S. Marzani has been several times identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Using the most highly classified information, he supervised the making of charts on technical reports for higher echelons of the Army, the Navy, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the O.S.S. Comrade Marzani made policy decisions and was liaison officer between the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army and the Office of the Undersecretary of War.

When questioned before a Congressional Committee, Irving Fajans of O.S.S. took the Fifth Amendment rather than admit to his Communist Party membership and long history of activities behalf of the Soviets. Comrade Fajans was a key O.S.S. operative despite the fact that he was known to have been a member of the Communist Party and have served in the Communists' Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain during the years 1937-1938.

Robert Talbott Miller III was another contact of Soviet courier Elizabeth Bentley. An O.S.S. employee assigned to the State Department, he was Assistant Chief in the Division of Research. On a trip to Moscow, Comrade Miller married a member of the staff of the Moscow News.

Leonard E. Mins, a writer who has worked for the International Union of Revolutionary Writers in Moscow and written for *New Masses*, was also on the staff of the top secret O.S.S. Comrade Mins took the Fifth Amendment rather than admit he was a member of the Communist Party. He refused to deny that he was a Soviet agent ever

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TOWARD LEGISLATIVE CONTROL OF THE C.I.A.

STANLEY N. FUTTERMAN*

I. INTRODUCTION

Every few years the C.I.A. is rediscovered. The inspiration is rarely the same: Guatemala in 1954; the U-2 incident in 1960; the Bay of Pigs in 1961; support for the National Students Association in 1967. This year it is mainly Laos.

How far the Nixon Administration has been forced to come in the past year in acknowledging the C.I.A.'s role in Laos may be seen by a comparison of two official reports. In March, 1970, in response to increasingly detailed newspaper reports and rising pressures from Congress, President Nixon issued a 3,000 word statement on Laos, including a nine point description of "the precise nature of our aid to Laos."¹ There was no mention of the Central Intelligence Agency. On August 3, 1971 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee released a staff report on the situation in Laos, cleared for publication by the Administration after 5 weeks of negotiation with the Committee staff. The published report reflects numerous deletions insisted on by the Administration but includes the now officially conceded revelation that "the most effective [friendly] military force in Laos is not the Royal Lao Army, but the...irregular forces which are trained, equipped, supported, advised, and to a great extent, organized by the C.I.A."²

There have been revelations about C.I.A. foreign operations before and official or semi-official confirmations of them. What is unusual about the official confirmations of C.I.A. operations in Laos is that they have been forced out of the Administration while the activities are still in progress. The revelations come also at a time when the Congress is heavily engaged in an effort to legislate limits to the President's discretion in foreign affairs.

These events have led to the introduction in the present Congress of several bills which comprise the first proposed legislation intended to bring the C.I.A.'s foreign operations under substantive legislative restraints. It is not that past years were without congressional flurries over the C.I.A. Over the years some 132 bills had been introduced either to establish standing committees to oversee the C.I.A.'s activities or to authorize special investigations of the C.I.A.'s role. Not one passed, and only two ever reached the floor of even one House, where both were decisively defeated by better than two-thirds majorities.³ The remarkable thing is that the activity was all confined to jurisdictional battles within the Congress. The traditional issue has been which small group of Senators and Representatives would be privy to the doings of the C.I.A.

Not until 1967 was the first bill introduced to limit what the C.I.A. could do with its funds: Rep. Ryan's measure to prohibit the C.I.A. from contributing funds to domestic organizations.⁴ The Johnson Administration avoided what surely would have been considerable pressure for such legislation only by announcing that all existing covert financial assistance to the nation's educational and private organizations would be terminated by about the end of the year.⁵ More recently, Congress has compelled the Nixon Administration to terminate covert C.I.A. funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and forced it to seek legislation to provide open gov-

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